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The Week

A CORRESPONDENT of the New York *Times*, in a dispatch printed in that paper on December 23, spoke of the Trans-Siberian Railway as being in a deplorable condition. What has become of the Stevens Railway Commission? The Commission, formed in 1917 at the request of the Kerensky Government, went to Russia for the purpose, it was said, of rendering expert advice and assistance in the improvement and extension of the railway system. The membership of the Commission, which included some mechanics as well as technical experts, was reported to have numbered upwards of two hundred. Upon the overthrow of the Kerensky Government the Commission retired to Japan, but last summer was reported to have returned to Siberia. What it has been doing in the meantime is a mystery; it would appear, however, from the *Times* correspondent's dispatch, that it has not been contributing very much to the efficiency of the Trans-Siberian Railway. As a considerable stretch of the eastern end of the railway is reported to have been for several months in the control of Japanese or other Allied troops, and as the road itself is indispensable to the operations of military intervention, one would think that some progress ought to have been made in improving it. Where is the Stevens Commission—or the Russian Railway Corps, into which the Commission is reported to have resolved itself—and what is it doing? To whom or what is it responsible? Is it true that the salaries and expenses of the Commission, to the amount of from $60,000 to $70,000 per month, are regularly paid through the American Government by a Russian agency in New York, from funds originally advanced by the United States to the Kerensky Government; the Russian agency being in the meantime without knowledge of the details of the expenditure and ignorant of the work which the Commission supposedly has done?

THE way of the interventionist is hard. The plight of Michigan soldiers in the Archangel district has called forth protest from Detroit, where Mayor Marx announced on December 29 his intention of calling a mass-meeting to draft resolutions demanding relief. There seems to be a good deal of feeling in Canada, too, against any further participation by Canadian troops in the Russian entanglement. An Ontario paper reports insubordination in British Columbia on the part of a number of Canadian soldiers about to sail with a Siberian expedition. Still another report from Victoria states that about seven hundred Canadian troops attended a mass-meeting of the Federated Labor party and cheered the declaration of Mr. Hawthornthwaite, Labor party member of the provincial legislature, that "the Bolsheviki are the hope of the world." Another Ontario paper says it is informed that when Canadian troops were asked to volunteer for Siberian service, more than eighty per cent. declined; and also that it has information from private correspondence indicating a spirit of mutiny among the troops in service. The *Manchester Guardian* of December 6, in the course of a blistering editorial, says that British workers "are not going to send their sons to slaughter and be slaughtered against the workers of another country, against which we have never even declared war and for the purpose of destroying a form of social economy with which some of them at least are in sympathy." A late press dispatch says that England will send no more troops, and intends to "leave Russia to her fate," but confirmation of this good news is lacking as we go to press.

ON December 22 the Czecho-Slovak Republic took its place as the first of the new states to achieve something like complete organization. On that day Dr. Masaryk took the oath of office as President, promising "on my honor and conscience" to "care for the welfare of the Republic and its people and respect its laws." As there has been no opportunity for Parliamentary elections the different political parties were authorized to select delegates in numbers proportioned to their strength at the last election, and in this way a National Assembly of 259 members has been constituted. The Agrarians make the largest single group, a fact presumably reflecting the excessive concentration of land in large estates. The Socialists, who claimed more seats than were allotted to them, but waived their claims, are represented in three or more groups. Forty seats are given to the Hungarian Slovaks. There are eight women members. A Cabinet has now been constituted. It numbers seventeen, including eight Socialists, and a Catholic priest as Minister of Railways. Among the first tasks of the new Government will be the drafting of a Constitution, the delimitation of Slovak territory withdrawn from Hungary, an agreement with the Poles as to claims in Austrian Silesia, an arrangement as to the debts of the defunct Empire, a settlement of the status and rights of the German Bohemians, provision for the Czecho-Slovak troops still in Russia, and an emergency currency. Many of these questions are obviously of an international character and will have to be settled in agreement with decisions to be taken by the peace congress or later international conferences. As to domestic matters, bills have already been presented providing for an eight-hour day and the abolition of titles of nobility.

FURTHER light on the web of secret diplomacy which has already been spun about the peace conference, and which threatens to operate as a serious impediment to Mr. Wilson's plans, is afforded by the recent statement of M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, in the Chamber of Deputies, regarding the claims of France in Armenia, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. These "rights," which, according to M. Pichon, are "incontestable," were declared by him to rest "on historic conventions and on more recent contracts." The reference to "historic conventions" is doubtless to be understood as meaning the agreements or capitulations, some of them of long standing, between France and the Turks, under which France was recognized as the special protector of Christians in certain parts of the Turkish Empire. The allusion to "more recent contracts," on the other hand, refers not only to the secret Treaty of London, concluded in 1915,

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to which England and France were parties, but also to the secret treaty between England, France, and Russia, concluded at Petrograd in 1917. According to the Treaty of London, France was to be given control of Syria, Lebanon, and part of Armenia, while England was to control Mesopotamia. That is to say, the Turkish possessions, which the Allies expected to conquer, were to be dismembered by cutting off the regions named for the benefit of England and France, while the rest of the Turkish Empire was to be left to the determination of the peace conference. The treaty of 1917, now inoperative so far as Russia is concerned, assigned Constantinople to Russia. As for Palestine, England and France appear to have agreed that it should be placed under international control. That agreements of this sort, whether secret or not, are the very negation of the principle of self-determination and a serious bar to the impartial or enlightened treatment of the Turkish problem, is plain enough. Unfortunately, neither France nor England is likely to recede except under the strongest pressure, and there is reason for thinking that certain American missionary interests are as much opposed to self-determination for Armenia or Syria as are, apparently, England and France.

THE United States to-day suffers from no more absurd restriction than the ban placed upon enemy newspapers. During the war it was undoubtedly intended to prevent printed propaganda of a hostile nature from reaching the masses of the people. Why newspapers, however, should have been deprived of their German and Austrian information is a riddle which we shall not try to solve. While our authorities were protecting our patient people from this Teutonic pollution, German papers were to be found in every English and French newspaper office and English papers could be bought in the streets of Berlin. Even now that Germany has joined the ranks of the great democracies, the news of her revolution, which it is of the utmost importance for us to follow intelligently, is largely hidden from us, except through such incomplete stories as special correspondents manage to get past the British and American censorship. The American people are asked to feed the world, and to finance the work of reconstruction to a great extent. They will do this cheerfully. But eventually they will ask questions, and the newspapers will answer: "We don't know ourselves because the authorities have told us that we mustn't see the European papers."

AN admirable consistency in Mr. Gompers's reaction to various political schemes for the reconciliation of capital and labor is his great strength. He relies, with all the fervor of the Syndicalist, on the strike as the only weapon upon which labor can depend. It has been lately reported that the British War Cabinet looks toward the establishment of an international tribunal to adjust labor conditions, possibly as an adjunct to a league of nations. Premier Clemenceau is said to view favorably the plan to enact an international labor law, guaranteeing an eight-hour day. The American Federation of Labor responds promptly and characteristically to such rumored proposals, some of which contemplate international standardization of wages and conditions of employment. "I question if American labor will turn its affairs over to an international committee. The American worker will accept no such principle," says the secretary of the A. F. of L. Mr. Gompers has repudiated recently before a Senate committee, whose purpose is to recommend legislation intended to bring about better social and industrial conditions, the idea of compulsory arbitration or any national tribunal to review and adjust difficulties between workmen and employers. By the same token we may suppose that he would oppose international tribunals. In spite of Mr. Gompers's argument, however, that labor should hold itself aloof from politics, the newly formed American Labor party seems to be spreading. Affiliated labor groups are now reported in some forty cities. Mr. Gompers may yet find himself the leader of the left wing of American labor.

NEWSPAPER comment running throughout the week is in the tone of "Mexico next!" The New York *Times* has an editorial condemning as confiscatory the provisions of the new Mexican Constitution with regard to natural resources, particularly oil deposits. "No time should be lost," says the *Times*, "in making the Mexican Government understand that titles obtained and granted in good faith must be respected, and that the enforcement of confiscatory legislation will not be endured." The *Engineering and Mining Journal* comes out with a fine four-square avowal of Palmerstonism: "Commerce follows the flag, but the flag follows the prospector," and proceeds to talk about two million soldiers, not as a threat, but merely by way of pointing out to Mexico that "the viewpoint of the American public has changed somewhat within the last few years"; and ends with the customary intimation to Mexico that "what we ask her to do is for her own good more than ours." The public will get more and more of this kind of thing in the course of the next few months, and we hope that newspaper readers, while there is yet time, will learn to appraise it at its proper value. In case of disagreement between two Governments, the chosen function of the press in most instances is to egg on each of them until the disagreement winds up in a serious collision. This is precisely what the American press is doing—urging on first the Carranza Government and then our own. If the public permits itself to be moved, the press and the interests it speaks for will gain their ends, but not otherwise.

THE officers honorably discharged from the army for undue severity to conscientious objectors have engaged in a newspaper campaign to show, in the words of Major Taussig, that "the pro-Germans, I. W. W.'s, International Socialists, and cowards are protected by the War Department, and the army has been hampered materially by the War Department's attitude." This effort to discredit Secretary Baker is likely, in our judgment, to help rather than harm him if his critics have nothing more to allege against him than that he attempted, and urged his subordinates to attempt, to deal comprehendingly with what is admittedly a problem of great difficulty and complexity. If the unspeakable abuses that have occurred and are still occurring could take place under an official as enlightened and liberal as Secretary Baker, what would have happened if his place had been filled by a Nero such as Major Taussig apparently desires? Meanwhile, the responsible authorities and those who desire further torture of our heretics might well peruse a petition presented to Mr. Lloyd George on January 3, calling for the release of the 1,500 objectors now confined in British jails. The signers include such men as Viscount Bryce, Lord Buckmaster, the Marquis of Crewe, Lord Loreburn, Reginald McKenna, Viscount Morley, Sir John Simon, Arthur Henderson, Augustine Birrell, and seventeen

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bishops. Is not the time ripe for the release of political prisoners here—or are we to embark permanently on a policy of suppression and persecution such as many sincere but short-sighted patriots desire, and such as has given birth, all through history, to outbreaks of violence and lawlessness?

THE silent power of the metropolitan press was never shown more clearly than during the last few days. On New Year's Eve we were informed that a strike had broken out among the waiters of our hotels, big and little. The event was more or less sensational. Anything that threatens to interfere with New York's notorious New Year's libations makes good copy. After that we heard not a word. The relative claims of hotel proprietors and waiters were not mentioned, but a cunning backfire was started to minimize the importance of the strike. Little stories began to creep into the newspapers telling of the wonderful chances waitresses had of meeting important and wealthy men and contracting marriage with our most prominent citizens. The fifty-dollar tips offered by patriotic patrons to strike-breaking soldiers (their service medals modestly hidden by their new white aprons) were featured. To all intents and purposes the strike (as far as the public was allowed to know) had been a failure and had ended in a *débâcle* for the waiters and their outrageous demands. Everyone who has been obliged to eat his meals at a New York hotel during the last ten days knows how utterly untrue this picture has been. The service is entirely disorganized. Meals are badly cooked. The waiting is done by decrepit relics of the days when New York dined below Twenty-third Street. In some places it is done by women who do not seem bound by the rather stringent laws of this State regarding woman's labor in public places. In short, evidence, both circumstantial and direct, tells us that the hotel business is suffering from a severe labor trouble. Everybody knows it except the newspapers.

THE railway debate has already proceeded far enough to make clear the actual alternative with which the country is faced. As pointed out in our columns a fortnight since, we must choose between public operation, and some scheme of regulation which will give the country the benefits of an efficient and unified transportation system and at the same time be sufficiently attractive to private capital to induce adequate investment. Serious students of the problem are accordingly looking forward with keen interest to the plan worked out by the railway executives, which at this writing has not been made public, but is promised for an early date. Meanwhile the discussion has been advanced by Mr. McAdoo's testimony before the Senate committee, pointing out certain advantages of unified operation which ought to be insured no matter what system of control is adopted. Among other points he enumerates the following: The maintenance of the permit system, so as to control traffic at its source; the maintenance of high demurrage rates, uniform rules, uniform freight classification, and heavy loading; the elimination of circuitous routes, the unification of terminals, and the establishment of through way billing from point of origin to destination; the standardization of equipment and the pooling of repair shops; the consolidation of ticket offices, the utilization of universal mileage tickets, and the maintenance of common time tables; and the utilization of water routes to relieve rail lines.

IN industries which formerly belonged exclusively to men, the job has been slow to react to new standards better adapted to the woman employee. Investigators of the National Consumers' League have found, for instance, in certain occupations in New York, particularly in transportation and elevator operation, conditions similar to those prevailing in factories fifty years ago, before any protective laws were enacted. Girls sixteen years of age are employed as conductors on night runs out to lonely regions; they work fourteen, sixteen, and in a few cases, twenty hours a day without provision of proper toilet facilities. They are obliged to report for work and wait for hours before being given their run, although they are paid only for time actually engaged in the operation of the car. The women of New York, represented by the State Suffrage Association, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Y. W. C. A., the Woman's Trade Union League, and the Consumers' League, intend to use their new political power to counteract any lowering of standards. A woman's joint legislative programme has been formulated, embracing six bills which together provide for limited hours of work, a minimum wage, and health insurance. Speakers will cover the State, and lobbyists will be maintained at Albany. Women are now more strongly organized politically than industrially, and, although trade unionism might more effectively accomplish and enforce the desired standards of work, it seems wisest to use the weapon nearest at hand. Recently it has been found that wages for women have increased little or not at all in many of the old occupations, such as paper-box factories, laundries, and department stores, while Federal figures show that, in addition to the general rise in living costs, women's clothing has increased in price 112 per cent. There has been no equivalent increase in wages.

THE woman teachers of New York are proposing to move on the Legislature for the redress of salary grievances. In 1912 a law was passed providing for equalization of pay as between men and women in the schools, but it has since been amended no less than five times in the interest of certain groups of men, according to the *Salary Bulletin* of the Teachers' Interests' Organization and the Teachers' Welfare League of Brooklyn. A table sets forth the discrimination against the women as follows:

Grade	Service Year	Men Old Sched. vi	Women Sched. b-1	Discrimination
Kindergarten to 6 b	3	$1,110	$800	$310
	6	1,425	900	525
	13	2,160	1,320	840
7 a to 8 b	11	2,400	1,420	980

A teacher is kept at the minimum salary for three years before receiving any increase, and it takes sixteen years to reach the maximum. All the teachers in the elementary schools are divided into two groups, the first including those in all grades from the kindergarten through 6 b; the other those in the seventh and eighth grades. Of the 15,000 teachers in the first group, more than 7,000 are on the minimum salary of $800, which is $20 less than the minimum salary paid the city stablemen. The woman teachers insist, and with much force, that equalization should precede other salary adjustments, but the whole question of teachers' salaries, not only in New York, but throughout the country, is one that must have prompt attention if disaster is to be avoided.

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Theodore Roosevelt

MR. ROOSEVELT was often spoken of as preëminently a lucky man. It is true that more than one of the high distinctions which he enjoyed, whether as a holder of public office or as a private citizen still conspicuous in the public eye, came as the fruit of what at the moment appeared to be chiefly lucky circumstance; while from more than one of the difficulties into which his temperament or his political methods repeatedly plunged him, a fortunate turn of events, as startling, often, as it was unforeseen, repeatedly afforded extrication. Yet we are inclined to think that historians, when they come to review his career in all its aspects, will dwell rather upon his misfortunes. More than that of any American President since Jackson, it was his fortune to span two sharply opposed periods of national development, one reactionary, the other radical, between which flowed a broad but turbid stream filled with wreckage of the one and ill-assorted intimations of the other. The steps which would have carried him definitely over to the firm but rugged ground of the new age, he seemed often to be upon the point of taking; but in the end the past held him, and the more daring company of those who saw, or thought they saw, the riches of the new domain which he had pointed out, passed on and left him at one side.

It was the stranger that he should lose the leadership, because it was of leadership that he possessed, in extraordinary measure, an intuitive gift. The qualities that could win the masses, bind them to him in fervid allegiance, and make them do his bidding, were his in a measure rarely equalled. One scans in vain the earlier years of Mr. Roosevelt's public life for any clear premonition of either isolation or defeat. His strenuous attack upon a corrupt police administration in New York city, and his equally strenuous attempt later to put the administration of the Federal civil service upon a plane of honesty and efficiency, thrilled the metropolis and the nation with a realization of his forceful personality, and with a new sense of the responsibilities of citizenship as well. His unconventional and outspoken action in the war with Spain, mixture though it palpably was of unabashed self-advertising and courageous exposure of administrative wrongs, nevertheless won the applause of a sober multitude sick at heart over official rottenness and incompetency, and hungry for a leadership upon whose ability and sincerity it could rely.

The test of Mr. Roosevelt's quality, however, was the Presidency. To say, without qualification or explanation, that Mr. Roosevelt failed of greatness as President would do him an injustice. The times were against him, and the times were his undoing. The old Republicanism, with its cult of wealth and class and intellectual superiority, its arrant sectionalism, its gross political partisanship, and its contempt for the people in the face of favored interests, was passing. For more than a generation, save for two brief periods, it had held the country in its grip. Yet the public opinion which at heart had repudiated it, and which was to make its remaining lease of power a record of calamity, was as yet unorganized. Progressivism had reached the threshold of revolt, but as yet it had neither ordered programme nor accepted leaders.

It was the task of Mr. Roosevelt, standing at the watershed between the old time and the new, to point the nation on its way. That he did so, for a time, with brilliancy and power, is to be conceded. His great state papers and public addresses, with their trenchant arraignment of evil in high places, their sweeping demand for encyclopaedic reforms, and their stirring appeal to moral rectitude and social sympathy as the mainspring of national life, came as a gospel of a new and lofty Americanism. In any history of the awakening of the American people to such enhanced sense of national integrity and responsibility as they now possess, Mr. Roosevelt will continue to fill a large and distinguished place. Yet his was, after all, a voice crying in the wilderness. He sympathized, but he did not fully understand. He could destroy, but he could not build. He could counsel and exhort with more than a crusader's zeal, but the holy city of democracy was to be taken by other leaders. And when the nature of the revolution which he had championed, and which he had done more than any other man of his generation to urge upon its course, stood at last revealed in the fundamental radicalism of its programme, he drew back, and thenceforth was numbered with the opposition which he had once defied with unmeasured scorn.

One cannot but think that, even if the times had been more propitious, he must nevertheless have failed. With all his boundless interest in men and things, Mr. Roosevelt was not wholly a democrat at heart. His public career, great and honorable as much of it was, illustrated far more the qualities of the Prince whom Machiavelli long ago immortalized, than of the thoughtful servant of the people's mind and will. To him, as to many another whom the turn of fortune has seated in high places, the end too often seemed to justify the means. The eight years of his Presidency are deeply scarred with incidents which show little moral scrupulousness and small regard even for his own professions. Nor was it his nature to be noble in defeat. It is admittedly a defect of our political system that it provides no place for an ex-President; but assuredly it adds nothing to the respect which is due to that exalted office to find one who has held it going, as Mr. Roosevelt speedily went, into violent and bitter opposition, turning public discussion into partisan harangue, and identifying national security with that régime of organized force from which the thoughtful world to-day turns shudderingly away.

A career like that of Mr. Roosevelt can happen but once in any country or in any age. The America which reverenced Mr. Roosevelt in his prime will have no place for a successor. The social revolution whose beginning he witnessed has no longer need of cheers and unctuous preachments, but rather of wise, constructive leadership. The West which he loved, and whose early spirit he embodied, has passed from picturesqueness to maturity, and its own sons now speak for it. The restless sympathy for all sorts of good causes which Mr. Roosevelt exhibited has given place to a demand for systematic, reasoned treatment of social needs. A new generation has come upon the stage, with new temper and outlook, new purposes, and new tasks. One would gladly record that Mr. Roosevelt, in the great new age which he lived to see, had grown with its growth and strengthened with its strength, weaving the thread of his great and varied powers into the new fabric of a better national life. Yet though he failed of this, he was nevertheless a commanding figure, and his memory will long survive. It is strange that he, of all men, after a life of tireless action, should have passed quietly, with none to watch his going, even though, on the public stage which he loved so much, he had long stood alone.

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Alliance or League

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU'S recent speech has been variously interpreted. Some have professed to see in it conclusive evidence that the Allies and the United States, in spite of fine speeches, brilliant ceremonials, and unctuous expressions of good will, are in fact far apart regarding the principles upon which a peace settlement should rest and the methods by which it should proceed. To such, M. Clemenceau has merely blurted out, in his characteristically plain-spoken and vigorous fashion, what Mr. Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, and all the rest of the Allied statesmen have known from the first. Others, refusing to entertain the suggestion of a fundamental difference of opinion in regard to peace terms, interpret M. Clemenceau's remarks as nothing more than a blunt way of calling attention to the fact that France has one or two claims of its own which the coming league of nations must neither forget nor disregard; while still others decline to attach any special importance to the speech, and prefer to look upon it as stage play, a sort of necessary whistling and bell-ringing before the train starts upon its safe and predetermined course.

However varied the interpretations, M. Clemenceau has nevertheless gone a long way towards clearing the air. The world can see now, more clearly than it was able to see before, how the peace situation lies. The French Premier is for a peace settlement of a "practical" sort. The problems of France, so far as they have to do with protection against Germany and security for future peace, are definite and concrete, and they must not be lost sight of in the mazes of a discussion over world leagues or general world reorganization. It is a condition, and not a theory, that confronts him, and he is not in doubt as to how best to deal with it. He takes as his guide the lamp of experience, and puts his trust in alliances and the balance of power. There is nothing in all this, apparently, which from his point of view is opposed to the general idea of a league of nations; but the league of nations is still far off, and the needs of France are immediate and pressing. So far as the settlement of peace terms is concerned, accordingly, M. Clemenceau prefers to use the well-tried tools which are already at hand.

The contrast at this point between M. Clemenceau and Mr. Wilson is striking. Mr. Wilson, in his treatment of the whole subject of peace, has from the first employed the method of indirection. Instead of enlightening the American public and the American Congress about the multitude of specific problems which were certain to come before the peace conference, he has contented himself with the enunciation of certain general principles upon which, to his mind, the whole business of peace should proceed. Even his fourteen points, and still more the successive summarizations of them, turn out to be, when closely examined, little more than general pronouncements even on the most concrete matters with which they deal. The high ethical content of what Mr. Wilson has said, joined to the resounding rhetoric in which he has phrased his thoughts, has given a weight to his utterances beyond that of any official statements anywhere; and it is upon that weight of influence that he now relies. The method, even now that the peace conference is at hand, has not changed. There is still the insistence that, before peace terms are drafted, the principles of peace must first be agreed upon; and of those principles the league of nations is, apparently, the chief.

To this conception of the way in which peace may best be made M. Clemenceau, if his recent speech is to be taken at the value which on its face it seems to have, is diametrically opposed. Mr. Wilson is for an alliance with the world or an alliance with none; Premier Clemenceau is for an alliance with any nation or nations that can help France, and that, with France, can hold Germany in leash. Mr. Wilson is for laying down a theory in accordance with which the nations of the world shall agree henceforth to regulate their mutual relations, and then settling the terms of peace in harmony with the theory; M. Clemenceau is for dealing with questions as they arise and letting theory go hang. Mr. Wilson is for a union of the nations, grounded in universal brotherhood and universal obligation; M. Clemenceau is for a union of the nations grounded in the selfishness and intrigue which for generations have set the world at odds. Both alike desire peace, but M. Clemenceau wants it because France must be made safe, while Mr. Wilson wants it because the world must be made free.

If the policy which M. Clemenceau has championed, in his speech, and by which he has declared that he intends to be guided if he is permitted to represent France at the peace conference, prevails, the conference which is about to meet will be only another Congress of Vienna. The trusted representatives of the old diplomacy of aggrandizement and intrigue are already on the ground, and have begun the game which they know so well. France, which has already reincorporated Alsace-Lorraine without waiting for the conference, now demands a further slice of German territory to "safeguard" its industries. Belgium, which for four years has been fed and clothed at the nations' cost, unblushingly asks for wider boundaries. Poland is conquering and proposes to annex a large section of Germany in which there are scarcely any Poles; Serbia is ready to go to war to save itself from the advance of a mercenary Italy; Japan is pressing its claim to Kiao-chow, and Russia is threatened with an Allied ring of steel.

The United States, we may be sure, will be ill-disposed to share in another Congress of Vienna. It has no confidence in alliances and no wish to further their plans. It has not gone to war to enhance the power of any state. The rising tide of popular protest against the continuance of American military operations in Russia is an indication of what is likely to happen, on a vaster scale, if American troops or American money are to be used to further the schemes of European or Asiatic politicians. The American people have been very patient with the censorship and diplomatic secrecy, but they are likely to make short work of both if they find that they have been misled. If Mr. Wilson fails—and he is facing the crisis of his great career—if he returns from Europe a defeated champion, beaten in his fight for a peoples' peace, the forces which already are clamoring for universal military service, for the biggest navy in the world, and for the vigorous extension of American trade to every corner of the globe in which a dollar can earn a profit, will be immensely strengthened and may carry the day. The United States will have tested the spirit of European statesmen, and found it wanting. No more now than when they entered the war do the American people desire either territory or political advantage for themselves; they have made their contribution to the defeat of Germany, and are ready to close the account. They are committed to the establishment of justice among the nations, and would not soon forget the day that saw the wreck of their hopes by the conclusion of a bargain peace.

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Reconstruction in State Politics

DURING his term as president of the Board of Aldermen of New York city, Governor Smith once committed the indiscretion of asserting that under the Home Rule Act the city could immediately buy and operate its transit system "if it had the money"—this in defence of the legality of Mayor Hylan's proposal that the city should condemn and sell coal to the people of New York. In spite of this conclusive pronouncement the new Governor of the State recommends in his inaugural address "that legislation be passed granting our cities the power to acquire, own, operate, and control their public utilities." It is unnecessary to cavil at the Governor for slight discrepancies and inconsistencies between his record and his first message to the Legislature. It is unnecessary even to dwell upon the fact that never while he led the forces of Tammany at City Hall did he take a step towards fulfilling his party's pledges regarding municipal ownership, despite his assurances of the city's power. It is unnecessary to press too far his failure to sponsor or even to support truly progressive municipal legislation. His record as president of the Board of Aldermen belongs to the past. As Governor he has still his record to make, and his first official words are full of promise.

In addition to his demand for legislation permitting municipal ownership, Governor Smith outlined in his inaugural message to the Legislature a wide programme of social change. For a man who has doubtless an honest Tammany aversion to "uplift" or "goo-goo" politics, he has stepped perilously near the precipice of reform. He recommends that teachers "be adequately paid and fairly pensioned," and that legislation be passed "to lift labor out of the category of commodities or articles of commerce." Specifically, he wants a minimum wage for women; restrictions on child labor; protection of women "who have entered new industries on account of the war," especially those employed on surface, subway, and elevated railways and in the operation of elevators; health and maternity insurance; and an extension of the workmen's compensation law to cover occupational injuries and disease. He proposes to appoint an impartial commission to solve the puzzle of an adequate and reasonable milk supply. He announces an immediate programme of prison investigation and reform, and calls to the attention of the Legislature the conditions in the State hospitals for the insane.

With intelligent promptness the Governor appears to have switched off the current of thought universal during the war and switched on the current appropriate to a period of rebuilding. He analyzes the various phases of the reconstruction problem, and proposes a Reconstruction Commission to coöperate with the Federal authorities and with social and civic agencies within the State to handle the social and industrial and financial problems of peace. By its broad outlines and its thoroughness his address sets a new standard for political utterances in this State by which other office-holders, present and to come, will inevitably be judged.

For a politician, Alfred Smith is reckoned an honest and progressive man. For a Tammany politician, his reputation is singularly untarnished. The unkindest thing one could say of him is that he dresses up the old Tammany lay figure of "the people" in the clothing of reform politics. But he does it with a touch of sincerity that reflects a certain amount of honest feeling and intention. No one would accuse him of a spirit of reform valiant enough to offend his party machine or hurt any of "the boys." Short of that, however, it is fair to believe that he will do his best to make his part of the world a tolerable part to live in. What he can do is another and more dubious matter. With a Republican majority in the Legislature already frank in its opposition to the "radical suggestions" of his message, Governor Smith might safely promise the millennium. A recent dispatch from Albany states that "Republican leaders predict that the likely solution of the municipal ownership agitation will be the appointment of a commission to study the question." Traction magnates, if there still are such things as traction magnates, may rest secure among their dividends. Republican Speaker Sweet, in damning the Governor's message, calls it "Bolshevik and socialistic," but the citizens of the State need scarcely worry. Speaker Sweet has means at his command to prevent the immediate establishment by a headstrong Governor of a Soviet Republic among us.

The test of Governor Smith's serious purpose will be in the appointments he makes rather than in the legislation he suggests. His selection of a superintendent of prisons, the personnel of the reconstruction and milk commissions, his whole use of the patronage of the State will indicate how earnestly he intends to solve the problems he has so well stated. So far the indications are rather discouraging. The old crowd seems to be hard at work. By his words Governor Smith gives the impression that he realizes how far his obligations extend beyond the confines of Tammany Hall. His acts will prove how honestly he means it.

The Coast Guard

IT is not often that the Coast Guard men are called upon to do their hazardous work under the lime light, as in the rescue of our soldiers from the Northern Pacific, aground off Fire Island. Nor are they commonly so fortunate as to have Red Cross nurses at hand to dress their wounds and bruises and to revive those dragged unconscious from under a life-boat. Yet year in and year out, in lonely patrols on remote beaches, on nights as black as a wolf's throat, working in driving sleet and shattering surf, they do their unheralded and heroic work.

During the last fiscal year there were no less than 1,303 instances when Coast Guard units assisted in saving life or property or both. The persons on board the vessels aided numbered nearly twelve thousand. Over twelve hundred were saved from imminent peril of death. Within the Coast Guard's field of operations only thirty-eight persons were drowned during the year just past, and in the previous year only eleven. Twelve persons apparently drowned were resuscitated by artificial respiration, the work being kept up in one case for two hours and three-quarters before attaining ultimate success. Some idea of what the work means is suggested by the fact that, taking the year as a whole there were only three days when one or another agency of the Coast Guard was not called upon to give assistance of some sort to persons in distress or to save property in peril. From the point of view of dollars and cents one may say that the saving of human life is thrown in for nothing, as the Coast Guard operations cost last year only a

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little over eight millon dollars, with something like half a million more for new construction, while the total value of the property saved from danger during the same period is appraised at $15,198,322—a return of almost 200 per cent. on the annual expenditure.

By an act of 1917 the pay of warrant officers and enlisted men in the Coast Guard was made equal, for the period of the war, to that for corresponding grades or ratings and length of service in the Navy. The grade of Coast Guard keeper has, however, no corresponding grade in the Navy and has therefore been awarded no increase. At the same time a keeper, being a warrant officer, is entitled to no family allowance under the War Risk Act. The consequence is that a petty officer, whose family does receive an allowance, may also be in receipt of higher pay than that of the warrant officer placed over him—an accidental injustice that will doubtless be remedied.

Like all other civil work, the Coast Guard service has suffered in some ways from the war. Coast Guard cutters have usually been designated to perform special winter cruising in order to render assistance to distressed navigators. They patrolled the Atlantic coast between Eastport, Maine, and Cape Canaveral, Florida. Owing to war conditions the President's usual proclamation assigning cutters to this duty was omitted at the beginning of the winter season of 1917-18, and the work was done by certain cutters at such times as they could be spared. At the same time, new construction has materially increased the efficiency of the communication service. The submarine cables have been extended by thirty-seven miles and 143 miles of overhead line have been added. The new construction on the Pacific coast is approaching completion, and all Coast Guard stations are now supplied with telephone connections.

The bare figures of the work of the Coast Guard can not tell the story of its spirit. We are carried back in memory to a blazing July day at Hull—the tiny Massachusetts village of which it used to be said in State elections, "As goes Hall, so goes the State." The Baptists were immersing new members of their church in a sea which shone like glass. The city visitors and other curious spectators stood looking on, gingerly holding the dog-eared booklets of gospel hymns, while the pebbles burned their feet through their light shoes. The village people were self-conscious and shy, and the singing, with no accompaniment or leader, rose faintly. Then Captain James spoke up. All the Hull people are named either James or Pope. But this was the Captain James with a big red beard who took parties out sailing. "Let's all sing," he said heartily. "If we can't do anything else to glory God we can sing." And people sang. That winter he led a desperate rescue. When the surf boat, launched in spite of warnings, was staved in, he and his men ran to Strawberry Hill for the boat there, dragged it through sand and over shingle for long miles, and saved their men and gloried God so. Captain James's unpretending courage was no less evident when he spoke out for his faith before the city folk in their thin shoes on that hot July afternoon, than when he led his men to the rescue the following winter. A certain simple directness marks the lives of those who battle with the sea. Captain James's namesake William, of blessed memory, pondered on how we are to find a moral equivalent for war. The old basic virtues of physical courage and literal giving of life need not die for lack of exercise even in times of peace; what day but brings its call to the more difficult tasks of moral courage?

The Free Trader's Friend

THE publication of the British report on the commercial uses of aircraft has imposed upon us the duty of proclaiming with no uncertain sound that an unsuspected peril—one which touches the very foundations of society—lurks in the development of the aeroplane. Had it been duly foreseen that the motor-car would become a convenient and powerful adjuvant to elopers, home-wreckers, and (worst of all) the wretched people who play fast and loose with local option laws, no doubt the moral element in our society would have set its face like flint, and the dangerous instrument would have been prohibited. The trouble was that before the sinister possibilities of the motor-car had become apparent, the righteous had all learned how to drive and also how to enjoy it. Thus the motor-car was certificated into the category of the Widow Douglas's snuff, and nothing could be done.

This, in our judgment, should serve as a great lesson and a solemn warning, before the eternal Wichita and Emporia which Mr. William Allen White and Mr. Masters see in a fair way to overspread the earth takes hold of the aeroplane. With the aeroplane fully adapted to commercial and family uses, what—what, in the name of the sacrosanct protectionist principle—what may befall our tariff barriers? We ask the question in all seriousness and in great alarm. What could prevent the wholesale smuggling of all the dutiable gewgaws that are coveted by the daughters of earth, all the diamonds in Amsterdam, all the silks and laces in Paris? How could we maintain our blessed privilege of taxing ourselves rich and keeping exports in due excess of imports? The aeroplane might earn the infamous designation of the Free Trader's Friend, and a bi-weekly F. T. F. express service might be started—but we forbear further speculation, and ask what kind of aerial customs system would be effective against this nefarious enterprise. Must every yard of coast be lined with high-power searchlights and anti-aircraft guns? Must a continuous air-patrol be maintained along every mile of seaboard and along our northern and southern boundaries? The cost of this would eat up the whole customs revenue; it is impracticable.

No, rather would we urge upon the moral element, the friends of law and order, that it is time to lay to their hand. No scheme of international control can be trusted, and the nationalizing of aerial zones is but a snare to entrap the unwary withal. Flat, uncompromising prohibition is the only thing. The commercial aircraft must not be; and here we are sure that nothing but the high, unapproachable idealism of the Middle West will avail. It is for the eternal Wichita and Emporia to assert itself; the moral resources of the East—we confess it in shame and contrition—are inadequate. The East is sophisticated. Prohibition is not its handy weapon. Beside, it is tainted with commercialism and likes money. It relucts at confiscation, even the confiscation of a good business prospect. The Mid-West has no such weakness, and the Mid-West therefore must save us.

May the *manes* of Pig Iron Kelley, John J. Ingalls, and Mark Hanna be at the elbow of all that is great and good in our civilization until this menace to our most holy economic faith is met and dealt with! The eternal verities of Schedule K may indeed do something to reinforce the feeble moral consciousness of the seaboard, but our fundamental reliance must be on the great valley of democracy which hesitates at nothing when a moral issue is involved.

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The Transit Crisis in New York

By DELOS F. WILCOX

NEW YORK has paltered with its transit problem for more than half a century. It has pleaded its own ignorance, poverty, inertia, unreadiness, and wickedness even, in its long argument with civic duty. It has refused to choose between good and evil, on the plea that it had a liking for both. But indecision has become more pitiful and more dangerous as the years passed, until now, when the destinies of the world hang in the balance, now when democracy has been elected by the suffrage of the sword to rule the nations, and must make good or else confess its brutishness, New York, the capital city of the free world, comes to judgment.

At the present day, transit is the indispensable tool of urban civilization. The function of the street railway, however private and speculative it may have been a generation or two ago, has in fact become socialized so that to-day transit is a public function, no matter by what agencies the function is performed. The effective transition from the era when transit investments were speculative, and when the primary purpose of transit operations was private profit, to the era when transit investments will be assured complete safety and a fair return without excess profit, and when the primary motive in transit operations will be service, is long overdue. The fundamental characteristics of the two eras are different and irreconcilable. Every city must choose between them. New York has reached the point where its choice can no longer be postponed. If transit facilities are to be furnished in the manner, to the extent, and at the price that will make them attractive to private capital seeking investment for profit, then we have one set of policies; if, on the other hand, transit facilities are to be furnished in the manner, to the extent, and at the price that will enable them to render the widest service to the community, coördinated with the other public activities designed to promote public welfare, then we have another set of policies. Up to this time New York has tried to keep on good terms with the speculative investors and at the same time salve its conscience with respect to public needs. The impending bankruptcy of the transit companies of New York city demonstrates the failure of this attempted combination of irreconcilable policies. The dual rapid transit contracts, adopted in 1913, were based upon an attempt by the city to satisfy its own conscience with respect to the expansion and cheapening of transit service, while at the same time paying to the private companies a price high enough to satisfy their desire for profits. The extravagance of this programme was characteristic of New York city; but the events of the intervening period have hastened the breakdown that was inevitable from the beginning.

Nearly one billion dollars of capital is invested in the transit facilities of New York city. Nearly two billion revenue-producing passengers are carried each year. About ninety-five million dollars is the sum of the yearly collections by the transit companies for the services they render. Besides this the city pays, or is pledged to pay, through taxation, about ten million dollars a year in interest and amortization charges on contributed capital. Transit service within the Greater City is rendered by some thirty-five distinct operating companies, and about sixty companies and the City of New York itself share in the ownership of the transit facilities. The existence of underlying mortgages issued by companies that were subsequently merged creates a still greater diversity of financial interest in the transit properties.

The street railway business throughout the country is in a critical condition, and the issue that now presents itself in the City of New York differs only in detail from the issues that are presenting themselves to almost every city in the country. From the standpoint of the street railway companies, the causes of the crisis are: (1) the gradual extension of the length of the rides furnished for a single fare; (2) the unprecedented rise in the cost of materials during the war period; (3) the enormous increase in wages incident to the war and particularly resulting from the action of the National War Labor Board; (4) the relative decrease in traffic on account of the increasing competition of motor vehicles and, during the war period, on account of the absence of large numbers of men on military service; and (5) the limitation of revenues by arbitrary rates of fare fixed by custom, contract, or regulatory orders. The street railways say that the price of everything entering into the cost of street railway service has doubled or trebled, while the price paid for the service remains stationary. They say that the nickel is no longer big enough to go around. They say that the service which they render is essential to the public welfare, and that if they are to continue to render the service they must be paid what it costs; otherwise the property will deteriorate, the service will be crippled, and no further capital can be secured for extensions, additions, and betterments. The street railway companies, being hard put to it, insistently demand relief. While some of them are still minded to be particular about the method by which relief is to be given, many have reached a financial condition and a state of mind where they are not disposed to insist upon the right to pick and choose. The several methods of relief proposed on their behalf are the following:

1. A straight increase in the unit fare charged, corresponding in general to the increase in the prices of other commodities and services during the war period.

2. The abandonment of the one-city-one-fare or one-system-one-fare policy, and the substitution therefor of a zone system or distance tariff copied after European models.

3. The adoption of the service-at-cost plan, with profits guaranteed by the municipality or the State.

4. Public ownership and operation, or public operation with private ownership, on a basis that will enable the investors to take their money out or else to receive a fixed permanent income upon it.

Stated from the point of view of the companies, the case seems to be clear and convincing, but the public also has a point of view which ought to be considered, and which in any case will be considered, because it is the public—which has the point of view—that is asked to take the necessary action for the relief of the companies. But this is no time for the confusion of thought that comes from mere acrimonious debate. The fundamental interests of the private companies and those of the public, beyond a certain point, are in hopeless conflict. It is the public purpose that must pre-

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vail. It is the public responsibility that must be met. The companies may lose and fail, or they may relinquish their property and withdraw from the field, but the municipality and the State cannot fail or withdraw. Their responsibility is fundamental, unavoidable, and unending. What is needed then, is a public policy—not a makeshift, or a plea of avoidance, but a policy. Let us examine briefly the remedies suggested on behalf of the companies, to see if any one of them is acceptable from the public point of view.

First, there is the proposed increase in the unit fare. This remedy has been applied in a large number of cities in different parts of the country during the past two years. While it is too early to assess the final results with complete accuracy, experience thus far shows that any increase in fares above five cents will result in a diminution of traffic. Decreased traffic tempts the companies to reduce their car schedules, and this in turn tends to a further diminution of use. The profitable traffic of convenience, not necessity, the short-haul business, is lost if unit fares are high or car service is infrequent. This condition stimulates jitney and automobile competition and tends to still further curtailment of use. With the reversal of the old policy of catering for an increase of traffic, there is no telling what the end will be. The grant of one fare increase is a pretty sure guarantee that the company will soon be back asking for another. Experience in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, shows that fare increases do not bring the financial relief desired by the companies, and that they do arouse public resentment, and result in a diminished use of the utility. Great numbers of people who are accustomed to ride, and want to ride, are deterred from riding by the higher fares. The street car ceases, to a degree, to be the poor man's vehicle, and its function is narrowed and partially transformed.

In New York the case against fare increases is exceptionally strong, because the city has just put an enormous investment into rapid transit facilities for the very purpose of extending the area of the five-cent fare as a matter of social policy. Hundreds of millions of dollars are now being invested in additional facilities for handling an immense increase in traffic, not for driving away a large part of the traffic that already exists. Now that the city has shouldered the burden of cost incident to the preservation and extension of the uniform five-cent fare it would seem like a strange climax of civic instability and improvidence to renounce the benefits of the bargain without being relieved of the cost. Moreover, in New York, the diversity of ownership and operation of transit facilities would make a uniform increase in the unit fares illogical. Any particular increase, to do enough for some lines, would have to be too much for others. Yet any increase that was not uniform would be sure to defeat its purpose by bringing the forces of competition into play and thus causing an artificial readjustment of traffic.

The second plan suggested on behalf of companies in financial distress is the introduction of the zone system or distance tariff. This is being tried in a number of cities in New England, and is receiving favorable consideration in New Jersey and elsewhere. The theory of the zone system is that each passenger should pay for the service he gets. It is logical and necessary to apply this system to inter-urban traffic, but even from the standpoint of the companies there are certain grave difficulties in applying it to the congested traffic of a great urban community like New York. These include the expense and uncertainty of collection, as well as the unforeseeable effect upon traffic. From the public point of view, the adoption of the zone system in New York would constitute a reversal of the policy upon which the city has staked the hundreds of millions of dollars which it has contributed to the solution of the transit problem. It would mean the giving up, without even a complete trial, of the benefits for which the dual rapid transit system was designed.

The third possible remedy suggested is an adaptation of the service-at-cost plan, with flexible fares, similar to the schemes already in operation in Cleveland, Montreal, and Boston. But such a plan requires unified operation and the pooling of receipts and expenses for all lines, as otherwise differences in rates would arise from time to time out of differences in financial condition, and traffic would be diverted from one line to another in such a way as to ruin the lines whose financial need was greatest, and to congest traffic and revenues on the other lines. Again the adoption of this plan, even if the obstacles from the point of view of the companies were removed, would involve a reversal of the city's rapid transit policy, which definitely provides for the continuation and extension of the uniform five-cent fare, even at the cost of an immense subsidy. No doubt the companies' demands could be satisfied by an extension of this subsidy policy to all the transit lines of the city, and by the transformation of the contingent subsidy into an actual municipal guarantee against deficits. It was supposed that under the dual contracts the rapid transit companies would enjoy the equivalent of such a guarantee by reason of the wide margin of safety created for them by the contribution of city capital with its deferred claim upon the earnings. But increasing costs, coupled with delays in the completion of the subways, have imperilled the companies, even in their preferred position with respect to the earnings of the lines. It is doubtful whether the city would be willing to go further in the guaranteeing of profits under private operation, even on the rapid transit lines, let alone the extension of the principle to the diverse and less profitable surface lines. There would be grave doubt, also, as to the constitutionality of an absolute guarantee, particularly in the case of lines where the title to the property remained in the private owners. The practical application of the service-at-cost plan, either with flexible fares or with a fixed low fare plus a contingent subsidy from taxation, is everywhere beset with difficulties. It involves the partial paralysis of the motive for efficiency and economy which is supposed to constitute the particular advantage of private operation as compared with public operation. At the same time, it imposes upon the public authorities such complex and far-reaching responsibilities of indirect control as to make their task seem even more difficult than direct operation of the transit service. It seems clear that for New York city to go even further in the direction of guarantees than it has gone in the dual contracts, and to extend this policy to the diverse operating companies now engaged in the operation of the surface lines, would be financially and politically more perilous than public ownership and operation.

Finally, we come to this remedy, which the American Electric Railway association now has under serious consideration. A number of the leading men in the street railway field have become convinced of the impossibility of safeguarding the investments in street railway property and

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of fulfilling the necessary obligations of urban transit service except through the withdrawal of the private companies and the assumption by public bodies of the responsibilities which these companies are no longer able to fulfil. If street railway service were a private function, we might accuse these gentlemen of "ducking" their responsibility and trying to "unload" on the public. But at this stage of urban development, it is undeniable that street railway service is a public function, and that the final responsibility for it rests imperatively upon the community at large in its organized capacity. The companies are essentially public agents. If the necessary restrictions upon their agency are such as to make it impossible for them longer to function, then it is proper that they should withdraw and leave the community free to exercise its function directly.

The limits of this article do not permit an extended discussion of the ways and means of public ownership and operation. It may be assumed that the community will be able to find a way to attend to its own business, if it has no other recourse. To some, it may even seem that the community at large has been in error up to this time in seeking another recourse, and trying to divest itself of a responsibility that in the nature of things cannot be completely or permanently avoided. Is it not reasonably clear that all men who wish well for the communities in which they live and who accept the responsibilities of citizenship should turn their minds and energies to the solution of this problem? If democracy, to which our country but yesterday pledged its last dollar and its last man, is in reality an eligible form of government for a great city like New York, can there be any doubt that the municipality could successfully undertake the function of transit service, if those who have heretofore opposed municipal ownership and operation should now unite in a loyal effort to initiate it on terms that would make success possible, and would thereafter stand by the community's job?

The Sinn Fein Victory in the Irish Elections

By PADRAIC COLUM

THAT this desperate form of disaffection which does not demand to be better governed, which asks for no benefit, no redress of grievances, not even any reparation for injuries, but simply to take ourselves off and rid the country of our presence —that this revolt of mere nationality has been so long in coming, proves that it might have been prevented from coming at all. More than a generation has elapsed since we renounced the desire to govern Ireland for the English; if at that epoch we had begun to know how to govern Ireland for herself, the two nations would by this time have been one. . . What seems to us the causelessness of the Irish repugnance to our rule, is the proof that we have almost let pass the last opportunity we are ever likely to have of setting it right. We have allowed what once was indignation against particular wrongs, to harden into a passionate determination to be no longer ruled, on any terms, by those to whom they ascribe all their evils. Rebellions are really never unconquerable until they have become rebellions for an idea. Revolt against practical ill-usage may be quelled by concessions; but wait till all practical grievances have merged in the demand for independence, and there is no knowing that any concession, short of independence, will appease the quarrel.

The result of the election in Ireland shows how prophetic John Stuart Mill was when he wrote the above sentence in "England and Ireland" more than two generations ago. The party in Ireland that stood for a settlement of the Irish claim by way of concession has been destroyed at the polls. Ireland by more than a two-thirds majority has placed herself outside the sphere of British politics. Her elected representatives will not sit, act, or vote with the British Parliament. They will meet in Dublin and make their assembly an organ of an uncompromising national will. "What was once indignation against particular wrongs" has indeed "hardened into a passionate determination to be no longer ruled, on any terms, by those to whom they ascribe all their evils." The proper significance of the Sinn Fein victory can best be stated in Mill's words: "All practical grievances have merged into the demand for independence."

But the Sinn Fein victory means something more than a revised statement of the Irish national demand. It means that a mental revolution has been accomplished in the country. The movements of the past twenty years—the Gaelic League, the literary awakening, the labor agitation in the cities and the coöperative movement in the country—have had their effect. It would seem that in all Nationalist Ireland there is now no group left that would be satisfied with a provincial status. "There is a new movement, and that, when all is said, means a new mood," says a letter received from Ireland. "The new mood comes out of a subconscious feeling of power. Everyone, even the most mediocre, is now determined upon one thing—to get an education in economics and politics." That attitude of mind means that "Sinn Fein," which for eight or nine years was a phrase, has now become a spirit.

The Sinn Fein movement was launched twelve years ago by Arthur Griffith, an editor and publicist, who united to an intense patriotism an imagination and a remarkable power of statement. Sinn Fein denied "the lawful existence of the Incorporating Union" (the union of the legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801); declared Ireland to be "by natural and constitutional right a sovereign state," and taught that "the election of Irishmen to serve in the British Parliament is treason to the Irish state, as no lawful power exists, has existed, or can exist in that Parliament to legislate for Ireland."

The original Sinn Fein constitution declared: "That we will not make any voluntary agreement with Great Britain until Great Britain keeps her own compact which she made by the Renunciation Act of 1783, which enacted 'that the right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by the laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom is hereby declared to be established, and ascertained forever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable." Until Great Britain could be brought to re-recognize this compact, Sinn Fein urged the Irish people to determine "to make use of any powers we have, or may have at any time in the future, to work for our own advancement and for the creation of a prosperous, virile, and independent nation."

There was not enough power generated to advance this programme appreciably during the first seven years that it was before the Irish people. It was an abstract programme and it began to seem more abstract when a Liberal party

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came into power, and a promise of Home Rule was held out to Ireland. When all was said, there were not many in Ireland who knew anything of the Renunciation Act and the Constitution of 1783. The fifteen points of the Sinn Fein constitution were admirable, but not all of them were awakening, for example: "The Introduction of a Protective System for Irish Industries by combined action of the Irish County Councils, Urban Councils, Rural Councils, Poor Law Boards, and other bodies directly responsible to the Irish people." "The Establishment and Maintenance of an Irish Consular Service." "The Re-establishment of an Irish Mercantile Marine." "The Establishment of an Irish National Bank and an Irish Stock Exchange." "The Creation of a National Civil Service." "The Establishment of National Courts of Arbitration." "The Control and Management of Transit by Rail, Road, and Water." "The Reform of Education to render its basis National and Industrial." "The non-consumption as far as practical of articles paying Duty to the British Exchequer." There was one point, however, that appealed to the national imagination as an heroic measure: "The non-recognition of the British Parliament as invested with a Constitutional or Moral authority to legislate for Ireland, and the Annual Assembly in Dublin of persons elected by the voters of the Irish cities and counties, and delegates from County, County Borough, Urban and Rural Councils, and Poor Law and Harbor Boards to devise and formulate measures for the benefit of the whole people of Ireland."

The founders of Sinn Fein had no lever to their hands, as Parnell had one lever in the revolutionary agrarian movement and another in the obstruction of the British Parliament. The programme was all in the air. A generation that had been trained to look to Westminster for concessions could not be expected to take a hand in the establishment of Irish consulates or the creation of an Irish mercantile marine. Nor at the time, if a lever had been discovered, was there the temper to make use of it. The Liberal party—the friends of Ireland—had come into power. Irish political interest centred round Westminster, and Sinn Fein and the older Gaelic League languished into forlorn hopes.

Time and circumstances were to give the lever, and give the country, too, the temper to use it. The Conservative party sanctioned the arming and drilling in Ulster of those opposed to the Liberal Government's scheme of Home Rule. Nationalist Ireland armed and drilled itself, too. This armed Nationalist force was to become the lever. Then the dominant English party showed that it was not wholly sincere about Home Rule. The armed men of National Ireland passed from Mr. Redmond's control. Labor leaders in Dublin had armed and had drilled their followers. These men were thinking, not of Home Rule nor the Constitution of 1783—they were thinking of an Irish Republic. On Easter, 1916, the Dublin Citizen Army, with the young intellectuals and a few corps of volunteers, who may or may not have been formally Sinn Fein, struck for an Irish Republic. From that moment the fortune of Sinn Fein was made.

The insurrection in Dublin was given the name of the Sinn Fein rebellion, although one of the prime movers in it, James Connolly, in his "Labor in Irish History," had mocked at the Constitution of 1783. Arthur Griffith, who was not directly implicated in the insurrection, was arrested with his colleagues. The name "Sinn Fein" was given wide publicity and the Irish people were taught to associate it with a splendid resistance. Meanwhile the prisoners of the insurrection had an opportunity to decide on a common policy. This policy was declared at the Sinn Fein Convention held at the end of 1917. The Constitution of 1783 was allowed to pass out of memory, and Arthur Griffith resigned the presidency of the organization he had founded in favor of Eamon de Valera, a young Volunteer Commandant who had taken part in the insurrection and whose life was saved from the military authorities by the circumstance of his American birth.

The new policy was easily understood. It spoke of an Irish Republic. It aimed at organizing resistance to British imperialism, and it kept the ideas of self-determination, the European conference, and the league of nations before the people. Lord French and Mr. Lloyd George did a good deal to make the organization compact and spirited. When, in April last, they arrested all the leaders with the exception of Professor MacNeill, and put them in English prisons to be kept until the present moment without a trial, they raised the morale immensely. And they must have added to the determination of the Irish electorate by arresting the Director of Elections and shutting up his office before the polling days.

The Sinn Fein party can now form its council in Dublin and take over as much of the government of the country as is responsive to popular control. Theirs will be a provisional Government limited by the fact that the army and the police will be arrayed against it—limited too by the fact that northeast Ulster will remain aloof and hostile. At the moment it may not be the part of wisdom to attempt to govern. It may be wiser, perhaps, for the Sinn Fein representatives to sit as a constituent assembly. They might spend the next three months drawing up a Constitution for the country.

And what will England do about it? It is easy to prophesy what England, now that the Conservatives are in the saddle, will do—she will blunder and coerce until the national spirit is even more intense and more implacable than it is now. There is nothing between coercion and self-determination for Ireland. The men on the Nationalist side who would have made a deal have been swept away. And what is the world going to do about it? The world at present is America, Great Britain, France, and Italy. Ireland is now an international question and the powers named have an interest in it. Ireland coerced would mean that the Irish in America would be alienated from British sympathies. They might be drawn toward the party in America that stands for the creation of the world's greatest navy. This is a possibility that England and America, as well as France and Italy, would do well to take into account. On the other hand, an Ireland pacified would make it more possible to have agreements between America and Great Britain.

And how about Ireland's own internal problem? If she insists upon self-determination, is she not bound to agree to it for the Ulster counties? The Irish could very well point out that self-determination is being granted to national majorities, and that no one so far has said a word for the German minorities in Alsace, Bohemia, and Poland. Still, it is possible that the majority in Ireland would agree to a plébiscite in the Ulster counties if it went with a real offer of self-determination—an offer made by America or by some international tribunal. The British Government has been so disingenuous about "Ulster" that no offer coming from it regarding a plébiscite in the northern counties would be acceptable.

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The Siege of Paris—by the Saracens

By W. W. COMFORT

M. MAURICE BARRES, in his address before the British Academy in 1916, since published under the title of "Les Traits Eternels de la France," made impressive use of his knowledge of old French literature. From the riches of mediæval heroic poetry, he extracted the most delicate and touching parallels for the sentiments expressed in their letters and poems by the youth of France in this war. The fact is that the French are running true to form, as that form is revealed in the earliest heroic poetry of the nation. A touch of grace in the last gesture, a smile upon the dying lips, a breath of poetry in the sacrifice—these are what make war a trifle less hideous. The French possess this precious secret of sifting out the beauty and glory from the welter of death and destruction.

M. Barrès has done well to link the past with the present incarnations of French heroism. In the past, too, one can find another strange parallel between imagination and reality, between poetry and history. The situation produced by the first great German drive upon Paris in 1914 was foreshadowed in poetry many centuries ago. After M. Barrès has so eloquently told us of the spirit in which his ancestors fought the Infidels, one may examine the international situation as it is presented in the epic poetry of France and Italy. Only in our own day can we find the realization of the concerted and pitiless attack upon the capital of civilized Europe as it was forecast in poetry centuries ago.

Of all the sieges which have been actually laid to Paris during the last two thousand years, none can compare for literary treatment with one that never took place at all—the siege of Paris by the Saracens. Neither Hun, Norman, English, nor German has made such an impression upon the imagination of men, and consequently upon poetical tradition, as has been made by the legendary attack of the Infidels. This attack is presented with all the wealth of detail and circumstance which one could desire in an historical event. The amount of space devoted to it and the number of references to it far outreach the popular allusions to any of the historical sieges of the Middle Ages—say of Rome, Constantinople, or Narbonne. There is only one siege which can compare with it for literary importance, and that is the siege of Troy. Both belong to poetic history and form the point of departure for countless poems of arms and love.

A definite *raison d'être* has been established by Professor Bédier for the creation and popularity of twelfth-century epic poetry portraying the emperor of the French engaged in a mighty conflict which should determine the domination of Europe by the Christian or the Infidel, by the forces of good or of evil. However much the spirit of the treatment may change between the twelfth and the nineteenth century, a powerful religious motive exists for the warfare. At all costs the Infidel must be converted or slaughtered. On the part of the Christians it was primarily a war for principles, for God and for country.

If it was an object of the French epic poets to incite the people to a holy zeal against the Infidels, nothing could be more effective than to invent a general invasion of France by the Saracens in the days of Charlemagne. That period was so long gone that some liberties could be safely taken with the historical truth. Of course, from the standpoint of the twelfth century—an age when all imminent danger of Saracen invasion had long since passed—the Saracen plans for hanging Charles to his door-post and setting up Mahomet in the shrine of St. Denis must have seemed preposterous. But the national pride of the audience was agreeably flattered in thinking of Paris as the great objective of thousands of Infidels who swarm in this poetry from the South and from the East, and who would be satisfied with nothing less than a definitive occupation of the French capital. Paris then, as now, was the goal of all invaders of French territory. Aix-la-Chapelle or Laon are indeed mentioned as Charles's seat in some poems which follow for special reasons the more historic truth; but when it came to the choice of a capital worthy of a siege, the poets show their contemporary inspiration in choosing what was already in the twelfth century the greatest city of western Europe. On the fate of Paris hung the fate of Christendom. The fall of the city then, as now, would be fraught with dire consequences to the other nations of Europe.

The value of the fiction as a campaign document now becomes clear; the Christians had an old score to pay. We can imagine no argument more effective with a crusading audience than to tell them that those very Saracens who now control or threaten access to the Holy Sepulchre once had the effrontery and the daring to invade *douce France*, ravage the country, burn monasteries, outrage women, connive with traitors, insult Charlemagne, and establish their gods in St. Denis. The damage that was supposed to have been done in these raids is described in such poems as "Aliscans," "Chançun de Willame," and "Le Charroi de Nimes." In view of such insults to their ancestors, the crusaders should persevere until there was none left who did not bend the knee and confess that Christ was Lord indeed.

The Saracen motive for an invasion of France and an attack upon Paris is commonly one of vengeance for some defeat already received from the Christians. King Marsile of Saragossa at the outset of the "Roland" (*circ.* 1100) supposed his Saracens would have an easy victory: "Within a year we shall have seized France and can establish ourselves in the town of St. Denis" (vv. 970-73). When King Baligant is summoned to help Marsile with his hosts, the Oriental potentate sends this message to his already defeated vassal: "I shall enter France to take arms against Charles. If he does not fall a suppliant at my feet and forsake the Christian faith, I shall snatch the crown from his head." And later when he has already arrived in Europe, he boasts: "King Charles, Emperor of the French, has no right to taste of food without my command. . . . It is my intention to enter sweet France to seek him out, and I shall not stop until he is dead or recants his faith."

In the thirteenth century poem of "Aspremont," the action of which passes in Italy, King Agolant sends Balant as his ambassador to Paris. The ambassador has the effrontery to say to Charles: "There are three lands that I can mention: Asia, Europe, and Africa. There are no others. Agolant possesses already the greatest of these, and he wants the others. We shall come to seek you out, and we

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shall be able to find you. There is no land or forest or sea which can save you, unless you fly away like a bird." But Charles is nudged by his stern counsellor Naimon, and makes this simple but proud reply: "You may tell Agolant your master that he will find me in front of him in four months from to-day, and that I shall carry my standard to Aspremont." This same poem contains some light on the thoroughness of the Saracen spy system. When Naimon arrives *incog.* in the Saracen camp he is recognized by Sobrin, who had visited France as a Saracen spy: "I was in France to spy out the land, and there is not a man there of high degree whom I cannot recognize and call by name. This knight here says he is not worth a sou, and that he is only one of Charles' gate-keepers. . . . But he is Duke Naimon of Bavaria, the man most dear to Charles, and above all others his counsellor. If you wish to terrify the French, have him dismembered on the spot." Fortunately, he is spared at the instance of a more generous Saracen who had once been upon intimate terms with the Bavarian Duke (Gautier, "Epopées," iii, 70-94).

In the poem of "Aiol" (4146-56) when King Mibrien of Arabia hears how his ambassador has been treated by King Louis at Orléans, he breaks out: "Now I swear by Mahomet and Apolin that there shall be no refuge in France for King Louis. First, I shall summon my vassals and friends until I have collected 400,000 of them. Then, I shall go after King Louis in France, and I shall take Orléans, and then Paris, Etampes, Beauvais and St. Denis, Hainault and all of Brabant, and the Cambrésis; when I have secured the valley of Soissons, I shall have myself crowned by my friends in Aix-la-Chapelle, which was once Charles's seat." In "Gaufrey," (p. 35) the Saracen Marprin thus counsels his uncle the admiral: "When you have seized Charles, hang him high in air. Then destroy their images and great St. Denis, and set up the altar of Mahomet and Tervagant, and you shall be king of France before summer comes."

Another poem contains the boast of a haughty ruler from Persia whose possessions stretch as far as the Red Sea: "He swore by Mahomet and his faith and his life that he would come with all his hosts across the sea, and would pass through Lombardy, laying waste and burning the land until he reached the strong city of Paris. There he would not leave a castle, stronghold, or abbey. He would establish himself on the greensward without the city, and would assail it. He would take Charles with the flowing beard and send him to Persia to be confined in a great tower in Tabarie, from which he could never escape." All this because of tribute which Charles refused to pay this arrogant potentate. The dream which he confided to his lords as sent from God is a revelation of his coöperation with the divine purposes:

"My lords, I have summoned you because I wished to tell you what I dreamed last night. Mahomet and Tervagant have greatly exalted me and given all the world into my power. I have been careful of my service to them; they have been well served and honored, and for them I have had made images of pure gold. I am rich in the honor of this world. I have not found the man who would dare aught against my will, except only King Charles, now in his dotage, who has not brought me the tribute of France, but keeps it back against my will. When I thought of this in the night, I almost burst with rage. Therefore I have summoned you to give your loyal counsel in accord with my desires." (cf. Fr. Michel, "Charlemagne," an Anglo-Norman poem of the twelfth century, London, 1836, p. lxiii.)

It will be observed that we have in these French poems nothing but bluster and preparation. That is as far as the French poets seem to have gone in their conception of a siege of Paris. Only in the French romance of "Octavian" (*circ.* 1300), so far as I recall, do the Saracens lay siege to Paris, whence they are driven by the combined forces of the French, English, Scotch, and Irish. The development of this theme is the work of Italian poets of the Renaissance. Professor Rajna remarks: "That an army of Saracens goes and lays siege to the city on the Seine is a situation extraordinarily frequent in the Italian romances and especially in those dealing with the stories of Rinaldo" ("Ricerchi intorno ai Reali di Francia." Bologna, 1872). It is probable that a siege of Paris was emphasized by the Italians in order to enhance the prowess of the family of Rinaldo, the family whose seat was Chiaramonte (Clermont). Rinaldo was their favorite French knight. Opposed to him and his family is the traitor "geste" of Ganelon, and in league with the latter are the Saracens. Owing to their immense forces and the connivance of the traitors, the Saracens are able again and again to approach the walls of Paris during the absence of Charles's strong defenders, the "geste" of Rinaldo. But upon the return of the heroes, the Saracens are regularly discomfited, and retire to repair their shattered forces and conceive new plans.

Let us pass to Pulci's "Morgante Maggiore" and Boiardo's "Orlando Innamorato," both of which dilate upon the siege of Paris as earlier set forth in the late fourteenth-century poem called "Orlando." In the "Morgante," the city is besieged and Charles is threatened in the conventional fashion, but the Saracens never succeed in entering the capital. The most interesting passage is in the twenty-fifth canto, where Marsilio addresses his troops before the battle of Ronceval. It will be recalled that Marsilio had recently agreed to make peace with Charles and to render him tribute. The following defence of his action in breaking his treaty is of value for international lawyers:

"Cæsar said that if, after oaths had been exchanged and promises given and received, it became necessary to break them, it was permissible to do so when it was a question of maintaining authority or of taking vengeance. So I do not hesitate to betray Orlando, just as it was legitimate for a widow woman treacherously to cut off the head of Holofernes!"

Then inciting his warriors to bravery, he continued:

"Come now and fill these last years with honor, and you shall be well rewarded in heaven; Mahomet will be mindful of his faithful Mussulmans, and has prepared for them fountains and streams of milk and honey. Therefore, my soldiers, if you are what I have long known you to be, this is the day when you shall have victory. You know how Orlando is waiting in Ronceval to receive his bloody tribute, as if he had sold us as slaves; but unless our swords have lost their cunning, we shall take captive all Christendom. . . . And I will send Bianciardino to Rome to the false Pope to bid him come to Saragossa under pain of death; otherwise I shall turn my ensign against him and, the better to show my power and how Mahomet is the only true prophet, our horses shall eat their oats from the altar of St. Peter." (xxv, st. 189-195.)

Though Boiardo's poem, like Ariosto's, is more concerned with amorous adventure than with heroic strife, yet in both, long passages are devoted to the defence of the faith, thus affording clear proof of the persistent interest in the motive. We may note in the former poem the following observation of Boiardo, and its pertinent truth so far as the poetic history of Charlemagne is concerned:

"Charles would never have acquired the title of Great and

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Glorious, had it not been for Agolante and King Troiano and the others, who gave him no rest; and Count Roland and his cousin (Rinaldo) would have sat with their hands in their lap, devoid of fame, if it had not been that first one Saracen and then another was continually attacking them." (Canto xxxvi.)

And for the interpretation of defeat as a chastisement from Heaven, we are reminded in the allegorical heading of the sixty-fourth canto that: "The defeat of the Christian army (at Montauban) shows us that God, because of our sins, often causes our enemy to triumph, and by this agency chastises us for our wrong-doing."

Both this poem and "Orlando Furioso" contain detailed descriptions of the siege proper, for which there is not space here. But Rinaldo's harangue to the English troops who have come to try to raise the siege, has a decidedly modern sound:

"I assure you that by saving the city you are obliging not merely the people of Paris, but of all the adjacent regions. And by that I mean not only the neighboring countries; for there is not a land in Christendom whose citizens are not to be found within her walls. So that by obtaining the victory, you will have the gratitude of far more than France alone. . . . Believe me, if those walls should be taken, neither Italy nor Germany would longer be secure, nor any other country where He is worshipped who died for us upon the Cross. Nor must you think that distance makes you secure against the Moors, and that the sea affords ample protection for your realm. For if in former times they passed beyond Gibraltar and the Pillars of Hercules and brought back plunder from your isles, what will they do now when our lands are in their power?" (xvi, 35.)

In the fourteenth canto of the "Orlando Furioso," the forces of Agramante are before the city with the giant Rodomonte as the chief fighting "unit," boasting how he is going to burn Paris and raze Rome: "The news reached Agramante that the English had already crossed the sea; wherefore he summoned Marsile and the other captains, who all counselled him to make great preparations in order to take Paris by storm; for they may be certain that it will never be taken unless it is taken before help arrives." (xiv, 65, 66.) One thinks of the Battle of the Marne!

A siege of Paris remains one of the stock episodes in many of the poems mentioned in Melzi's "Bibliografia dei romanzi e poemi cavallereschi italiani" (2d ed., Milano, 1838). Some reasons for the popularity of this episode may be found in the popularity of Rinaldo and his "geste" and also in the far-reaching plans of conquest with which the Christians credited the Saracens. But it is surprising to find the siege of Paris still holding its place in the "Ricciardetto" of Niccolo Forteguerri (1674-1735), a mock heroic poem in three volumes which had the honor of being translated into French in 1781. The little volumes, though far from edifying, borrow a kind of glory from Pulci, Boiardo, Berni, Ariosto, and the rest.

In the British Museum is the first volume of a two-volume poem entitled "Les Sarrasins en France," by one Colonel de M. It was published just a century ago, and though it has missed fame by a comfortable margin, it will serve to show the persistence of our situation, and to connect the remote Past with the Present. When about to invade France from the South,

> Soldats, disait le chef des infidelles,
> Nous terminons enfin tant de travaux;
> Il va tomber le culte des rebelles!
> Marchons! en France arborons nos drapeaux.
> Les doux climats, ses campagnes riantes,
> Ses champs féconds, tout doit nous animer.
> C'est là qu'on voit ces femmes séduisantes,
> De nos houris images ravissantes,
> D'amour pour nous prêtes à s'enflammer.
> Quelle conquête! et que nos pas vainqueurs
> Avec orgueil fouleront cette terre!
> Qu'il sera doux d'asservir à nos mœurs,
> D'humilier jusque dans la poussière,
> Ce Franc hautain, ce superbe Gaulois
> Dont, jusqu'ici, l'Europe tributaire
> Porta le joug et reconnut les lois! (Canto ii.)

At Tours the river was gorged with corpses:

> Le Cher, la Loire s'enflent et mugissent;
> Leurs flots sanglants, de cadavres chargés,
> Loin de leurs bords, qu'en fureur ils franchissent,
> Portent leur proie aux vallons submergés.

And yet the invader would not turn back:

> Peuples, criait le formidable Maure,
> Vrais Mussulmans, le ciel combat pour vous!
> Que le succès enhardisse vos coups;
> Marchez, frappez! quelques instans encore,
> Et l'univers va fléchir devant vous! (Canto vii.)

It is evident that this legendary conception of a siege of Paris by the Saracens in the time of Charles rests upon a broad elemental conviction. The entire strife with the Saracens is explained by the religious cleft that separated them from the Christians of Europe. The French and their Christian allies conceived themselves as engaged in a fight to the finish against idolatry, presumption, tyranny, and brutal invasion. In this poetry of French and Italian origin, Paris occupies her true place as the centre of Christian civilization, as the international bulwark, to be defended against the attack of a Christless people. Thus the imagination of poets has gone before the reality of 1914, and the heroes who have fallen in defence of *douce France*, at the Aisne, the Marne, and the Yser, will have their niche beside their sires who fell, so poetry tells us, at the Seine, the Loire, and in the Pyrenees.

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"The Need of Russia—A Dictator"

By JOHN RICKMAN

TO a person who has lived for years in a Russian village and has not left it even for the purposes of war or politics, the astonishing feature of political life in the towns and on the railway lines is the idea in the minds of the educated people as to the location of the centre of political power. In few countries to the same extent as in Russia is the big town and railway system a political and economic entity, semi-detached from the great bulk of political and economic interest which rests on the land. The former is in touch with foreign opinion, and is influenced by the policies of high financiers; the latter does not even feel the effects of improved agricultural methods practiced abroad. The *intelligentsia* of the towns and the workmen are inclined to think the peasants "dark," looking to someone to guide them; the peasants are apt to think the Russians of the towns "foreign," enlightened, but far too clever to settle the simple but immediate problems of the mujik. There has grown up accordingly a divergence of political opinion, a separation of interest and sometimes of good-will between the two divisions of the population of whom eighty-five per cent. are peasants, while the rest live in cities and on the railways.

The battle cry of one group is: "Give us a dictator. The country is breaking up under our very eyes; the industries are going to ruin; the railroads are disorganized; the cities are starving while the country people have grain in their store-sheds; we can raise no loans; capital ceases to come into the country, and therefore internal improvement is impossible. Give us order, give us a good strong army, give us for a time a qualified martial law, and the railroads will run again, our factories and banks will re-open, foreign capital will flow in, and we shall have a surplus to expend on hospitals and schools. The vitality of the country rests on good government." The dictator represents centralized power, order, and a tangible something with which foreign Powers can deal, to which foreigners can lend money. In other words, a dictator is an intermediary who guarantees to the Russian people the commodities they require for happiness, and in exchange claims the right to postpone their own schemes for developing their relationships with their fellow Russians.

The other cry comes from the people: "Why can't we be let alone? We want to develop our local Governments, our Zemstvos*; we want to be sure of each step as we go along, we want to get to know our neighbors before we unite politically with them, and when we know them thoroughly then our political union will be so simple that we peasants can understand it, and we shall then all of us go on joining with our neighbors till the whole of Russia is united. It may take time, but that does not matter, because the time will not be spent in war, but in learning about our neighbors. We do not care about the commodities that will secure our happiness, we want our happiness to rest on a civil order of our own making."

In these expressions of opinion there is on both sides an ignorance of what is in the mind of the other party. This is not due to disparity of intelligence; peasant and *intelligentsia* are remarkably similar in that respect. The division comes from the habit of mind of the two classes; the one, borrowing from foreign modes of thought, tries to translate every political eventuality into terms of "power"; the other tries to translate everything into terms of personal and intimate understanding; the former thinks in empires, the latter in village communities. To the dictator the form and mechanism of government is all important; to the villager the spirit in which government is conducted is so important that he tries to avoid every complexity, every mechanism which threatens to deaden the influence of that community spirit by which he sets so much store.

The ignorance which each group has of the ideals of the other not only tends to make both oblivious of the fact that the two are not incompatible; it also makes each see in the other an enemy of his own schemes. The peasant accuses the bureaucrat of trying to crush him out of existence or of trying to undermine his village customs; the bureaucrat accuses the peasant of indifference to the national welfare, of selfishness, made more hideous by ignorance, and of unfriendly resentment to whatever proposals emanate from a well-disposed paternal Government. The need of Russia is *not a dictator, but a meeting place* for those who rule and live in towns and manage railways on the one hand, and for peasants who live on the land and manage villages on the other.

Under the old régime the position of the many district Zemstvos was hardly midway between the Government and the people; it lay nearer the Government. Many of the members of these bodies were, it is true, born of the peasants, and were loyal to the interests of the people throughout their career. The fault lay, not in lack of good-will or strenuous endeavor, but in the mental attitude which permeated Russian life. In the Roman Republic men of capacity were drawn into the legal profession partly from the excellence of its members, partly from the absence of other attractions; the *intelligentsia* of Rome were not officials, but private individuals, and their prosperity was based on the popular favor which they found both intelligent and discriminating. In ancient Greece the career of a brilliant man was not confined to a single profession. One might follow various callings, and success was rewarded with popular acclamation. In both cases the public played so large a part in rewarding merit that popular opinion could never be neglected and might amply repay time spent on its development.

On the other hand, in Russia matters have for centuries stood differently. Superficially the careers open to the ambitious or the brilliant might seem to be various and tempting, but in reality hardly any were free from the support and the guidance of governmental influence. Whereas in Greece and Rome success and promotion rested on public opinion, in the Russian Government, which controlled nearly every institution, promotion was accorded to those who had

*The *zemstvos* correspond roughly to what might be called in English county councils. After the first revolution they became peculiarly representative of the peasants and very dear to the heart of the people in the agricultural province of Samara. Under the Bolshevist rule the *zemstvos* were called Soviets and while they were practically composed of the same men, certain Bolshevist commissaires were added who did not always have the peasant point of view. Perhaps, too, the first idealism had passed. At any rate the Soviets were not so popular among the peasants of Samara as the *zemstvos* had been. The Czech intervention restored, as far as possible, the reactionary officials of the old régime who were exceedingly unwelcome to the peasantry.

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shown conspicuous success in the judgment of their associates (in government), and achievement was directed not toward bringing harmony into the relation of institutions and the public, but toward making the institutions perfect in the eyes of the officials who managed them.

The tendency of generations of this mental in-breeding among officials has been to separate the rulers and the ruled in ideals, ways of thinking, and manners of expression. That this effect was due in part to the lack of popular control in electing and deposing officials was indicated by the success which followed the efforts to institute a governmental institution based on popular election. And though the Zemstvo (County Council) suffered from Czar-appointed officials and the imperial veto of bills and of discussion, yet probably no institution served as a better meeting place for the town and country dweller, for the industrial and railway and agricultural interests; and none stimulated the peasants more to feel their influence in any governmental body that lay outside their own village street. In the Zemstvo a man who had worked hard on an Education Committee or Hospital Board or other social body could influence the County Council by-laws and raise the level of thought of his district. Such a man earned the admiration as well as the respect of the peasantry, and was often called on in the days of political freedom after the Revolution to speak to the people on the measures that the Zemstvo was considering. The people trusted the Zemstvo because it was close to them and represented them.

The demand of the official class for a central, united Government must be met. The peasants care only for a representative Government, however small its area; the bureaucratic class for almost any kind of Government so long as it has wide control. From this dilemma the Zemstvo can rescue both political elements if it is given time. Meanwhile both expect and work for immediate and substantially different political systems. Though the Zemstvo organization is one that may eventually bring cohesion into the scattered forces of Russian social life, it may not prove effective in bringing political unity and "order" into Russia; it will not be a rallying point for the enthusiasts of constitutional safeguards, among whom we may number many of the Cossacks, Generals Horvath and Ivanoff, and the rank and file of the bureaucracy of the old régime; but it will prove a rallying point for political sentiment for the thousands and millions of men who have the desire and the will to devote themselves to public service.

It is the desire of all friends of Russia to do something to bring the people out of their miserable condition. The intervention of foreigners is bound to have an enormous effect on the political aspirations and institutions of the Russians; it therefore becomes a matter of the utmost importance to determine at what point (politically) to bring our influence to bear. We shall be judged in the first instance by the political alliance we make. If later by our influence a bad Government is improved the Russian people will credit themselves with the change and may even turn so far about as to say that if the foreigners had not interfered the bad Government would have been changed earlier; and the foreigners will talk about "ingratitude." But in any case political support by foreigners cannot be given to Russia because no point of support exists; political support cannot be given to the Russian people because no council or person represents them. Give political support to the Town Council of Vladivostok, and the Amur Cossacks and General Horvath will feel insulted because the red flag has been recognized; give political recognition to the Cossacks, or to any three or four of the generals now in power on the Siberian Railway, and the railway men and the peasants will tell you that you are recognizing "reactionaries." After all, what do we know of any of these minor factions, red, green and white or other, that we should support them?

But the people need commodities. The Volga provinces are now full of malaria, and there is no quinine; in tens of thousands of huts the children home from school cannot teach their mothers and sisters reading and writing because of the lack of kerosene; skin diseases spread for lack of soap; indoor life is made wretched because the small windows if broken must be replaced with wood; the peasants' carts must go without iron rims another year, and new doors must hang on leather hinges. In the cities the people need bread. In order to give the Russian people an opportunity to buy these commodities it may be necessary to treat with the various existing Governments, but every word beyond the bare necessities of immediate commercial transaction will embitter the Russian people and make their task of self-liberation more difficult. The Russians know, though we may not, that they need, not a dictator, but freedom of political contact.

The Resurrection of Vodka

By M. S.

VLADIVOSTOK, Nov. 1.—(Associated Press.)—The official All-Russian Telegraph Agency announced to-day that the Omsk Government intended soon to resume the sale of vodka as a Government monopoly. The Minister of Supplies says that the 1,714,000 bushels of grain necessary for the annual operation of the Russian distilleries can be spared without causing a serious food shortage.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2.—(Associated Press.)—It is stated that vodka again is being manufactured by the Government and is selling for six rubles a pint.

Some one has said that the benefits to Russia of the abolition of vodka will be worth all the sacrifices and sufferings entailed by the Great Calamity. It was probably far from the late Czar's thoughts entirely to eradicate this, one of Russia's worst evils; for the state monopoly of vodka had existed for nearly two decades and yielded the national treasury a net income of over 700,000,000 rubles annually. The Russian Government, contrary to Count Witte's assertion that the state monopoly was designed as a partial remedy for the scourge of alcoholism, directly and deliberately contributed to its spread by paying premiums to those wine-shop clerks who sold large quantities of the wax-sealed bottles. The measure was a purely temporary one, intended to insure a successful mobilization of the army, the drunken riots of the Russo-Japanese War being still fresh in the official memory. It was to have been effective for one month only, but numerous petitions from village communities, temperance societies, and even individuals impelled the Czar to extend its operation until the end of the war. Shortly afterward, urged by the popular demand, he expressed his intention to banish vodka from his realm forever.

The interdiction of the sale of alcoholic beverages produced a veritable revolution in the life of the Russian people. Besides considerably improving their material and sanitary

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conditions, it greatly reduced crime, stamped out hooliganism, checked the growth of juvenile delinquency—for even boys and girls of ten were becoming addicted to the use of strong drink—and ushered in a new era in the domestic relations of millions of peasants and workmen. Some corroborative figures drawn from Simpson's "Self-Discovery of Russia," may prove suggestive. In one of the capitals, in July, 1915, one year after the issuance of the famous ukase, a prison containing 500 cells, always comfortably filled, had only 37 occupants. The number of suicides in that city decreased from two or three daily during the summer months to none at all for several weeks in succession. The city hospitals, with a capacity of 14,000 beds, which before prohibition had to put in from 1,000 to 2,000 additional cots, had 1,000 vacant beds. Fires in the empire decreased 47 per cent. during the first three months of the war, the driest and hottest season, when their number generally increased. In some provinces the decrease was even greater, from 50 to 60 per cent. The postal savings bank reported deposits for 1914 of some 85,000,000 rubles, against 35,000,000 in 1913, while the month of December, 1914, shows 29,000,000 rubles against 700,000 rubles in 1913. The productivity of the Russian factory workmen was estimated by the inspectors to have increased some 15 per cent., with a marked decrease in the number of accidents and in absenteeism. In reply to a questionnaire sent out by the Statistical Bureau of the Kostroma Zemstvo between November, 1914, and January, 1915, one peasant wrote: "Many of the dark sides of life have disappeared—thefts, murders, quarrels, pauperism, immorality, and usury. All vices have disappeared. O God, let our Government understand the necessity of permanent prohibition, because from this hellish poison Russia was on the verge of ruin." Another peasant said: "With prohibition we do not meet with fights, murders, and bad language. Everybody feels himself safe now, because a sober man, even if he is still wild and rough, can not commit a crime." A village priest replied: "All crime has lessened by 90 per cent. The village is quite different."

Freed from the baneful influence of the liquor-shop, the people directed their attention to worthier public institutions, such as the Zemstvo library or popular tea-house, where in the intervals between the many cups of boiling-hot tea, great discussions were waged about the war and kindred topics. They frequented moving-picture exhibitions and similar performances of a semi-educational character, and even went to the theatre to see the immortal works of Tolstoi, Gogol, and Shakespeare. It is true that there were cases of illicit distilling, and that poisonous substitutes were secretly made and sold, the purchasers sometimes paying with their lives for their eagerness to quench the thirst for liquor. But such cases were not numerous; they showed no tendency to spread, and even the new freedom did not appreciably increase their number.

When the Bolsheviks came into power, they reaffirmed the Czar's decision to banish vodka from the country, despite reports to the contrary constantly spread by their political enemies. Remembering the state of the Russian treasury at that time, when all revenues had practically ceased, when taxes were not collected and the income of the state was limited to the post and telegraph service—even the railways operating at a loss—one can not help admiring their determination not to allow this curse of modern times to fasten again upon the Russian people. But there were still great supplies of wine and other alcoholic beverages in the hundreds of wine-cellars scattered throughout the city of Petrograd, as well as in privately owned stores, constituting a serious menace in those days of excitement and chaos. The opponents of the new régime turned to the old, tried method; familiar with the location of all such places, they stopped soldiers and sailors in the street and addressed them thus: "Do you know that the wine-cellar on the corner of such and such a street has been broken into and everybody is drinking there?" Or a telephone message to a soldiers' barracks in the neighborhood announced that wine was being distributed free at a certain place. A crowd quickly gathered at the place indicated, and, encouraged by unknown persons, who sometimes produced several bottles to start things going, gained entrance to the treasure-laden basement by breaking the door or smashing a window. No longer accustomed to alcoholic drinks, the rioters grew drunk after a bottle or two.

The Bolshevist authorities, sensing the danger from the drink-crazed masses, took drastic measures. They sent armed sailors with machine-guns to disperse the mobs by force, shooting and killing if necessary; and to engage in the methodical destruction of all wine supplies. Some of the wine-cellars contained hundreds of thousands of bottles, and the wine flooded the basements so that fire engines were employed to pump it out into the nearest canal; they worked day and night. Even the Winter Palace collection, consisting, it is said, of nearly half a million bottles of wine, and valued at 30,000,000 rubles, had to be destroyed, disorderly soldiers having gained entrance into the Palace vaults. The struggle there lasted two days, and the noise of popping corks and pistol shots could be heard a mile away. Sometimes the guards sent to quell the rioters succumbed to the temptation and joined them, only to be driven off by other, more revolutionary and steadfast troops. After a week's rioting and disorder, all stocks of wine which could be discovered were destroyed, and since then the restrictions against liquor have been even more rigidly enforced, so that a drunken man has become a rare curiosity. Men were sentenced to imprisonment for appearing on the street in a state of intoxication.

The announcement that the Omsk Government intends to resume the sale of vodka as a Government monopoly will be a painful surprise to all the well-wishers of Russia. Not only will such action annul the good results accomplished during more than four years of total prohibition, and again plunge the masses into the abyss of alcoholism with all its concomitant evils; it will doubtless be used by the reactionary forces as a means of robbing the people of their dearly-bought freedom, for they know full well that a drunken mob can not defend its liberties. The presence of Admiral Kolchak, a protégé of Nicholas II and an ardent monarchist, among the members of the Omsk Government—it styles itself All-Russian, although it has jurisdiction only over Siberia and parts of several Russian provinces—and its support by General Horvath, a notorious reactionary of the old régime, lends probability to this belief. For it is surely not in the interest of the Russian people that 1,714,000 bushels of grain, which, according to the Minister of Supplies, "can be spared without causing a serious food shortage," be used for the production of the potent national poison, while hundreds of men, women, and children are literally dying of starvation in the principal cities and towns of Russia.

BALDWIN-WALLACE COLLEGE
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Drum Taps to Heaven

By JAMES CHURCH ALVORD

Peter at Heaven's Gate wearied of the game
('Twas old folks, old folks, shivering up the stair),
Spindle-shanks, wheezings, sparse and grizzled hair;
When whooping, thundering, boys by millions came;
Blue eyes, black eyes, quivering eyes of flame;
Short step, sharp step, swinging to a flare;
Torn breasts, rank hulks, through the shrapnel's glare.
Some were but shards and smears of the human frame.
Each lad looked down—he'd heard a mother cry.
Each lad turned back—he'd heard a maiden sigh.
Peter did kow-tows to the number seven
(For these mad feet had danced the rigadoons of earth,
These shouting mouths had kissed beneath pale moons of earth),
"Brave boys," he laughed, "we'll have some life in Heaven!"
Rat-a-tat—rat-a-tat—tir-r-r-rah!
Rat-a-tat—rat-a-tat—tir-r-r-rah!
Rat-a-tat—rat-a-tat—tir-r-r-rah—tir-r-r-rah—tah-tah!

Flat yellow faces watched the sunset skies
(Sharp elbows nudged and eyes grew boldly rude);
While the grim twilight blotched with crimson, crude
Blood-drip of white boys storming Paradise.
Old yellow peoples saw their day arise:
Straight legs, quick brains, hashed to cannon-food,
Lame lungs, weak wits, left to breed the brood.
Grunted the Orient, mocking, bland, and wise:
"Clang go the gold gates on husky daddies gone,
Rickets and drivel in your homes are born.
Bribe us to churches, bully us to schools,
Your weaklings shall not cheat us in the marts of earth,
Your weaklings shall not strap us to the carts of earth,
O, blond-haired, blue-eyed, Nordic Race of Fools!"
Rat-a-tat—rat-a-tat—tir-r-r-rah!
Rat-a-tat—rat-a-tat—tir-r-r-rah!
Rat-a-tat—rat-a-tat—tir-r-r-rah—tir-r-r-r-rah—tah-tah!

In the Driftway

QUOTH the Greek poet, Πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κοὐδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει, clearly using the adjective in the sense of "wonderful" or "powerful." It might, however, without the context, be taken in a different sense, a fact which occurred to the Drifter when he passed in and out among the cheering crowds who were celebrating the advent of peace. The crowds were honest enough in their rejoicing. They had made all sorts of sacrifices in lives of dear ones and in treasure hardly earned, and when the end came, they rejoiced with an exceeding great joy. But if the stay-at-homes were rejoicing, what of the men at the front—those who all these weary months had borne the labor and heat of the day? Surely they rejoiced that it was all over. And yet—and yet. In a paragraph in the morning's news the Drifter read how, when at eight o'clock one fine morning notice was given to the fighters on the western front that hostilities would stop at eleven, the opposing forces spent the intervening three hours in fighting one of the most sanguinary artillery engagements of the war. One of the returning officers is reported to have said: "On the last day, November 11, we fired 800 rounds, and at one minute before the armistice became effective we let all the guns loose in a farewell salvo." Did these rejoice that it was all over, and if so why did they prolong the fray for those dreadful three hours? Doubtless many a widow and many an orphan echoes the Drifter's question to-day. Verily and indeed, many are the terrible things, but none more terrible than man! To the Drifter's way of thinking these last three hours of conflict constitute one of the most incomprehensible of all the innumerable crimes that have disgraced humanity during the past four years. The Drifter may add that he asked a militaristic friend how about it, and was told, in reply, that it was probably a matter of military etiquette. Πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ . . .

* * * * *

IT chanced that on a day the Drifter met a soldier-man who was pondering deeply over certain decrees that have of late emanated from that repository of wisdom, the United States War Office, and especially over that one which makes the wearing of silver chevrons for home service compulsory. For himself, he was a philosophical soldier-man. "Every reasoning human being," he said, "knows perfectly well that those who stayed at home did not necessarily do so because they wanted to. Nevertheless this precious edict has some rather unpleasant implications. Only the other day, if we are to believe a story in the press, a man with silver chevrons passed one with gold ones. 'What do those silver bars mean?' asked the gold-striped one's female convoy. 'White feathers,' crisply replied he of the gold chevrons. Whereupon he of the silver bars hit him of the gold ones on the nose—an unseemly business, necessarily incidental to militarism doubtless, but none the less regrettable." Noting that our soldier-man wore his silver chevrons jauntily enough, the Drifter asked what he would have done in the premises. "What should I have done?" he echoed. "What does one do when a wild ass brays?" which is very well as far as it goes, but we are not all philosophers. Πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ. . . Yea, verily. Also many are the idiotic things, but none more idiotic than man when he goes on a rampage.

* * * * *

THE Lady walked down the Avenue. She was very beautiful and we both knew it. Attached to the Lady by a slender string was Toto, her French poodle. Toto, too, was very beautiful as far as little poodle-dogs go, and wore a green silk sweater. The Drifter had seen that sweater before. At Christmas time it had been extensively advertised in our leading social and theatrical magazine and we had been assured that "it came low at thirty-seven dollars and fifty cents." The Drifter and his friend stopped and took in the spectacle. The Drifter walked on; then, noticing the disappearance of his companion, he called back over his shoulder, "What are you doing?" "Sh!" answered the friend; "I am looking at the origin of the Soldiers' and Workingmen's Council."

* * * * *

WALKING on down the Avenue, the Drifter told his friend the old story of the salesman in Turkey who cabled home specifications for an engine—"fifty revolutions a second"—and related what happened to him. "Well, in Detroit," replied the friend, "A man was thrown into jail and kept there for forty hours because he was seen reading Bernard Shaw's novel of the eighties 'An Unsocial Socialist'—surely a fair parallel!" THE DRIFTER

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Foreign Correspondence

Peace Manoeuvres

(By Cable to the *Nation*)

London, January 4

THE putting out of a tentative programme for the peace conference and the announcement of Lloyd George's agreement with the President's policies have been the sensation of the week in London. Such action has the merit of letting in a little daylight. So far as it is a bit of open diplomacy it is to be welcomed. The public now knows what it had suspected, namely, that despite President Wilson's optimism, the battle for a clean peace is far from won. The President, in asserting that all was going well, played a bold game and a shrewd one, in the hope of holding the Allies to their promises. Perhaps, if he had not come to England, he could have reached the actual assembling of the conference without an explosion; but the spectacle of Lloyd George and Wilson assuring the world they had agreed and arranged everything was too much for Gallic pride. This was evidenced in Clemenceau's statement by the assertion that he himself won the war and his reference to France's being the battleground while England and America were not. It has long been known here that Clemenceau is most intensely jealous of Lloyd George's assertion that the latter won the war.

Despite the clouds, the skies have cleared somewhat, and there is a growing belief in the best-informed circles that some kind of league of nations will probably result. What kind, remains the all-important question, as to which no authoritative information is given. The British Labor party at its wonderfully effective Albert Hall meeting on Thursday made that perfectly clear, declaring that it wants no new Holy Alliance, but a league which will be a league of free peoples really determined upon peace, and not an imperialistic alliance of old-fashioned diplomats deciding, perhaps, what shall be the right form of government for Russia or Turkey or India. Ramsay Macdonald reviewed at some length the history of the Holy Alliance to show that we are to-day at just about the same point as the diplomats of 1815, and that President Wilson has not yet voiced a single thought that was not advanced at the time of formation of the alliance. Yet there were the most earnest and enthusiastic support of the President and a complete lack of confidence in the English leaders. The same feeling was also evident in the equally remarkable demonstration at Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on Monday, by an entirely different kind of audience, representing the best business and liberal elements of that rich and powerful city.

The Albert Hall crowd cheered to the echo the assertion that Wilson had reached a position of world leadership by sheer force of moral appeal and by the moral positions he has taken. Yet for all its belief in him the Labor party, which polled two and a quarter million votes in the last election, will not take from his hands a sham league or a mere paper affair. Its leaders will now hold similar meetings in all the provincial cities for the purpose of rousing public sentiment further and bringing pressure to bear upon Wilson to stand fast and upon Lloyd George to do the right thing. It is discouraging that anybody remains to desire, as Clemenceau does, and as such Tory organs as the *Morning Post* here do, the retention of the old fatal order of checks and balances. It would seem as if any sane Frenchman would realize the terrible price paid for the alliance with the bloodstained Russia of the Czar, without which France would probably never have been drawn into war—an alliance largely dictated, of course, by the enormous French investment in Russian bonds.

Clemenceau's announced attitude toward this—or the Allies' attitude toward it, if he speaks for them—is another proof of the slowness with which error is eradicated from the world. There is indeed little new under the sun. Why should an enlightened man believe to-day that the spread of Bolshevist ideas can be controlled by a ring of bayonets stationed in Posen, Odessa, Riga, and elsewhere, as Clemenceau would have us believe when he advocates the plan of a *cordon sanitaire?* One need only look back to the history of the French Revolution and the attempts made to prevent the spread of the magic words *liberté, égalité,* and *fraternité,* to realize that the cordon plan may have precisely the opposite effect of that desired. Fighting battles against a state of mind is one of the poorest games rulers can play, and yet that game is now in full swing against Russia.

It is admitted that considerable British forces being landed in Riga actually demanded that the wicked and contemptible Hun troops should stay at Riga and help them defend that city against Lenine and Trotzky. This is about the clearest proof we have yet had of the topsy-turvy state of the world. A certain section of the British still demand the hanging of the Kaiser, the return to Germany of all interned Germans, and no intercourse with them of any kind. I have seen shops here displaying signs forbidding the entrance of any German-born person, whether long naturalized or not. Yet at the same moment these abominable Hun troops in Riga are offered the high honor of becoming brothers in arms to the English against the Bolsheviki and there are indications that there may be similar appeals to them to be good fellows and help out in Poland.

As it is, there is every evidence that the Allies are getting deeper and deeper into Russia, and that the Pichon plan of arming Russians to fight the battles of the Allies will lead to complications no man can foresee. Yet I constantly hear, on the best of authority, that President Wilson expressed himself while here in London, as before leaving the United States, in opposition to the further use of American troops in Russia. On the other hand, it is part of the extraordinary contradictions that make it so difficult to judge the existing situation, that we hear persistent statements that more American troops are going to Russia. Sooner or later people must see that the best way to get rid of Lenine and Trotzky is to let them hang themselves and let them show just how long a Government like theirs can survive. The more strongly the cordon of foreign troops is placed around Russia the stronger, unfortunately, are Lenine and Trotzky likely to be; that is the opinion of all the liberal leaders here, both in and out of the press, and of numerous successful and unsuccessful candidates for Parliament with whom I have talked, who unanimously report the greatest interest in the electorate as to Russia, and the most direct opposition to military interference there. Shall we again see a Government embarking on a foreign policy against public sentiment at home? That is the question which people are asking here and on which we should soon have light.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

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Correspondence

Art at the Mercy of the Expert

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The review of Mr. Berenson's "Sienese Painting" in your issue of November 23 calls for a protest by serious students of Italian art who, it can hardly be denied, are under a heavy obligation to that eminent critic for his reconstruction of the history of Italian painting. Your present reviewer is, I would point out, unable to point to a single error of fact, chronology, epigraphy, heraldry, or attribution. Perhaps the one sentence that stands out in the review is the arbitrary assertion to the effect that "Mr. Berenson has never discovered for us a picture of importance." Your reviewer seems no less unfortunate in his remarks on Morelli, who, he claims, "had the advantage of beginning his labors when the catalogues of many galleries were in need of revision." It is obvious that the millennium in museum direction did not antedate the Bergamask critic. Official catalogues of many art museums were then and long afterwards the subject of mild badinage. Indeed, what proportion of them even to-day is of any permanent use to those possessing first-hand knowledge of the subject, even with the valuable aid of Morelli and Berenson? Your reviewer seems to infer that modern critics slavishly "reduce ears and fingertips, draperies and pose, to formula." *Pace* your reviewer, Morelli did not "originate this modern method of studying art" —as he phrases it, rather loosely. Morelli neither followed nor advocated any study of morphological characteristics, for that is what it comes to, in any slavish or final sense. If your reviewer will read through Morelli's Preface to his "Italian Painters" of 1890, he will see that Morelli advocated his methods as "experimental, and only to be regarded as an aid in determining the authors of works of art—an aid, that is to say, to connoisseurship." He deplored that the critics at Berlin "had found it desirable to form an alliance, offensive and defensive," but pointed out that his "numerous opponents at Berlin had been unable to show that his opinions were unsound." "To deny," he added, "the opinion of others, and yet be incapable of producing any well-founded reasons for doing so, is simply childish."

Despite whatever your reviewer may say, Morelli's views are to-day universally accepted. My contention can be supported by reference to the article on "Morelli" in the "New International Encyclopædia" (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1916, vol. xvi. p. 246), where we are told that "Morelli's principles of art have since been generally adopted for the identification of Italian and, indeed, of all paintings." Your reviewer might also read Mr. Berenson's "Rudiments of Connoisseurship" in his "Study and Criticism," 1902, second series, where he deals with "Contemporary Documents; Tradition; and The Works of Art Themselves." Nor is it exact to say, as your reviewer does, that "the field for art experts is growing narrower" or that soon there may be "no outlet for their energies save bickerings in their own ranks." Such "bickerings" as there are come from outside those ranks, and until lately issued from Berlin with its silly sham of Germany (or Prussia) *versus* The Rest. Thank goodness, even that poison atmosphere is now past.

That you are availing yourself, editorially, of a new reviewer is clear from your remarks on Mr. Berenson's "Study and Criticism," third series, in your issue of May 31 of last year, when you held that "the whole volume is good reading whether for the amateur or for the professional student." Again, it presumably was not your present reviewer who, on March 15 of last year, wrote of Mr. Berenson's "Venetians in American Collections": "Alike for enjoyment or for minute considerations of attributions and chronology, the book must be read widely."

Your present reviewer's capers will not trouble Mr. Berenson, but many of us resent the suggestion that "art is at the mercy of the expert." Here is an American author who maintains his American citizenship in spite of twenty-five years' residence in Italy, and while deeply engaged in active war work (but not in the field) patriotically publishes a large proportion of his books through an American publisher, although most of his readers are European, and it remains for your reviewer in an American publication quite gratuitously to write an indefensible notice. He even has remarks to make on "ranking Ugolino with the more famous Mrs. Harris." *Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit* can be his only excuse.

MAURICE W. BROCKWELL

New York, December 6

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The review of "Essays in the Study of Sienese Painting," by Bernard Berenson, which appears in your issue of November 23, under the caption of "Art at the Mercy of an Expert," is so unfair in so many instances that I feel called upon to record a protest against it. According to it Berenson has never discovered a picture of importance, nor made an attribution that counted one way or the other, nor added to the world's appreciation or knowledge of art. These are extraordinary statements to be made of the man who has led, and is responsible for, our prevalent admiration for early Italian art as is no other living person, and who has made the greatest contemporary contribution to our knowledge of the subject. Details of his accomplishments hardly seem called for, so evident are they to anyone who pretends to connoisseurship.

Proceeding to specific instances your reviewer states that all that can be said with certainty of the Nativity in the Fogg Museum, considered in one of the essays, is that it is Sienese of the fourteenth century. It is a somewhat puzzling picture and I doubt whether that much could have been said with certainty before Berenson elucidated the fact. With convincing logic Berenson fixes the approximate date of the painting; he traces the artistic history of the painter; he connects it with other works by him—and all this without any document, simply from the paintings themselves.

Your reviewer fails to find any merit in this, and is moved to irritation by the arbitrary name given to the artist. I fail to appreciate why a name recalling the two streams of influence that formed the painter is any more "foolish" than such names as the Master of Flémalle or the Master of the Death of Mary, which come from the place or the subject of important works by artists whose names were unknown.

"Art is not a puzzle," says your reviewer, "with scattered pieces for the art expert to fix together, not a mystery with clues that only the art detective can follow to its solution." I venture to disagree and to point out that there is no line between what is proper and what is not proper as motive for interest in art. Such a division existed only in the minds of some nineteenth-century moralists.

Your reviewer is over nice in finding bad manners and lack of refinement in the ancient Chinese proverb which Berenson quotes. He must acknowledge at least the propriety of its sentiment.

AMICO DI BERNARDO

New York, November 25

I have read with interest the letters from your two correspondents—also with relief, for, evidently, Mr. Berenson is not so friendless as the unusual display of temper in his preface led me to fear. To answer the letters in detail would be practically to re-write my review. I might, however, remind "Amico di Bernardo" that connoisseurship sometimes is not a synonym for art, and Mr. Brockwell that a man is not always equipped as art critic because he is perfect in fact, chronology, epigraphy, heraldry, or attribution. And does Mr. Brockwell really believe that, because Mr. Berenson has had the wisdom to retain his American citizenship and select an American publisher, despite twenty-five years' residence in Italy and patriotic war work, therefore an American reviewer should not write his honest opinion of Mr. Berenson's book?—THE REVIEWER.

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Appeal to Old Mancunians

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is proposed by the authorities of the Manchester Grammar School, four thousand of whose alumni have been serving with the British forces, to raise a memorial fund of twenty thousand pounds. The money so received is to assist in the education of children of alumni who have died or been disabled in the war, and to increase the accommodation for scientific teaching in the school.

I shall be glad to receive subscriptions for this purpose from any old Mancunian who may chance to read this appeal.

HAROLD J. LASKI

Harvard University, December 10

Discrimination and the Red Flag

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: If the attitude to be displayed toward those showing the Red Flag is not to be discriminatory in any way, the Board of Governors of the Union League Club is liable to whatever penalty the offence justifies, in that for some weeks following the first revolution in Russia the Red Flag was prominently displayed, together with the flags of the Allies, on the club building.

You will probably recall some of the expressions of sinful glee with which liberals viewed that particular display.

G. G. FLORY

New York, November 26

A Growing Argument

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There is one argument for establishing the league of nations immediately which seems to me to outweigh all those that can be advanced on the other side. It would then be possible to define, and punish, treason to the League as rigorously as treason to the United States, and those citizens, distinguished and otherwise, who are now attacking it under the guise of patriotism could be silenced before they succeed in destroying or crippling it.

CARL H. P. THURSTON

New York, October 3

American Liberalism

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: "It seems to me," said one of my guests at a dinner party, "that we are not getting all the news from Russia. We hear rumors now and then of the other side of the story. Perhaps our intervention was a mistake and our troops should retire. One also hears suggestions that it will be necessary to employ armed forces in Germany for years, in order to avoid the terror the Socialists may cause. No, I don't think the Socialists are all Bolshevists, nor am I inclined to believe that the Bolshevists are Anarchists.

"Have you noticed the talk of huge indemnities—punitive I think Wilson called them when he disapproved? Resentment arising from economic slavery does not make for an enduring peace. At any rate, the Socialists are not the Pan-Germans who caused the war.

"The Espionage Act? It seems to me that now that the war is over, it ought to be repealed. Why should Burleson and Creel carefully select the premises from which we must draw conclusions? Hearst? No, I don't think he's a traitor. You ask about the British Labor Party? Its principles are inspiring. Yes, it's socialistic, but what of that?—the world is changing."

My guest departed early. "He's a Socialist," said one. "He's an Anarchist," said another. "I am not so sure," said a third, "but from what he said I am sure you will all agree that he's a pacifist and a pro-German." And they all did.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

New York, December 24

Gratuitous Publicity

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I wonder if you can have overlooked the excellent advertising which the *Nation*, along with *Solidarity*, the *New Republic*, the *Call*, the *Masses*, the *Survey*, the *Blast*, the *Public*, and other organs of pacifism, pro-Germanism, socialism, I. W. W.-ism and all other unwholesome "isms," have received of late at the hands of the *National Civic Federation Review*. Strange to say, the *Nation*, although only "a weekly sublimated version of the New York Daily *Call*," is most favored, receiving two full pages of publicity in the issue of December 5, compared with one accorded to the *New Republic* and a half page to the *Review of Reviews*.

It is odd that Mr. Easley, the editor of the *Review*, who follows Mr. Harré with an article on "The Forces of Disorder," does not caution his contributor, or suspect him, for the sage editor shows a clear understanding of the operation of "the sinister forces seeking to undermine our institutions," upon which the *Review* is to throw light in the ensuing months. He points out the numerical unimportance of the Socialist Party: "The year they got 900,000 votes, they had only 150,000 dues-paying members, showing, as explained in their official bulletins, that 750,000 disgruntled Republicans, Democrats, Populists, and "what nots" voted with them as a protest . . . truly not a matter greatly to disturb the American people. . . .

"But if these people amount to so little, how is it that there is so much made of them? In the first place, a noisy minority can always get a hearing, because they invariably denounce somebody or something, and that gets headlines." A tip to the majority this—to the majority who strive in vain to emerge from the inside sheet.

"But another reason why they get such attention is explained in the statement previously made"—and here's the rub—"that they are 'tucked away' in newspaper offices. . . . These men are always looking for an opportunity to 'slip something over' for the Socialists; as Mr. Stokes says, they make headlines for them; they get in interviews with them, and so forth." And has Mr. Easley failed to scan the headlines of his own *Review* four pages back? "A GAME OF GRAB," SAYS VILLARD, "U. S. BAD AS GERMANY," "PRUSSIANISM IN WASHINGTON." Not that Socialism dares claim Mr. Villard, much as it would like to, but to Mr. Easley all that is not white is red—a true Marxian! And luck to him in finding a way to unify the radicals and liberals of the country!

Only I urge him to beware of seditious utterances and the Espionage Act. "Heroes and martyrs?" writes Mr. Harré. "We were Pharisees. We saw the mote in the Germans' eyes and not in our own eyes. The whole war, then, this so-called fight to make the world safe for democracy, was a burlesque; the agony, the shedding of blood a comedy that might have been staged in hell. And as for our victory over Germany, when Germany signed 'a humiliating armistice on the enemy's terms'—what was it? In what did the world rejoice? For what did the glad bells of city and hamlet ring on November 11? A mockery! A triumph that was grotesquely sham!" I wonder if this would encourage a mother to raise her boy to be a soldier.

DOROTHY M. BROWN.

New York, December 18

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Literature

Rupert Brooke and His Contemporaries

Rupert Brooke: A Memoir. By Edward Marsh. New York: John Lane Company. $1.25.

WHEN one learned of Rupert Brooke's death in April of 1915, a few months before his twenty-eighth birthday, and when one had studied the splendid war-sonnets crowning his small volume, one was tempted to believe that this was indeed he who should have redeemed our Israel of song. But the Collected Poems were on the whole too immature, and his public letters from America and the South Seas were necessarily too external, to permit of one's forming a firm judgment. The essential material is now supplied by Mr. Marsh's brief Memoir, —for poetry lovers, a most precious book. It consists largely of illuminating extracts from the poet's private correspondence, with some valuable fragments of unpublished verse, and a more revealing portrait than that which fronted the Poems. Mr. Marsh, a close friend of the poet, has succeeded in being at once intimate and objective. We may trust that, unlike many English official biographers, he has not omitted from the volume anything of first importance, in spite of his disconcerting prefatory remark: "I ought probably to rewrite it—on a different scale." As it is, the book enables us to see the development of Brooke's genius in its proper relationship with the present lively movement in English and American poetry.

Brooke was quintessentially poetic. In none of his contemporaries has risen such a strong fountain of sheer poetic joy. The Memoir shows it welling up in childhood, and flowing down in widening tide to the very moment of his death. Its deepest current, significantly, was in his relations with his friends. "There is nothing in the world like friendship," he writes at the close of 1913. "And there is no man who has had such friends as I, so many, so fine, so various, so multiform, so prone to laughter, so strong in affection, and so permanent, so trustworthy, so courteous, so stern with vices and so blind to faults or folly, so apt both to make jokes and to understand them. Also their faces are beautiful, and I love them. I repeat a long list of their names every night before I sleep." His nature was intensely social; and in him the "social vision" of the age was at its purest, though so far it had found only imperfect expression in his poetry. For example, his strain of sardonic and often gross realism seems in his verse factitious, because his art has not yet digested it; but in his letters it is soon seen to be a veracious aspect of his social zest. When he describes a fellow-boarder in Munich as "that monstrous, tired-faced, screeching, pouchy creature, of infinite age and horror, who screams opposite me at dinner and talks with great crags of food projecting from her mouth," the portrait is colored for the reader with the rich social kindliness which pervades the writer's whole account of his continental journey of 1911 (Memoir, pages 65-74). And continually he turns the same sardonic light upon himself; for instance, in recording his feelings on reading a book of Elizabethan lyrics: "There are moments when I try to write 'songs,' but they are bumping rustic guffaws. I feel that sense of envious incompetence and a vast angry clumsiness that hippopotamuses at the Zoo must feel when you stand before them with your clouded cane and take snuff."

Withal Brooke had in him something of the Puritan Carlyle, post-Victorianized and quite merged in "radiant young Apollo." He had the same exceptional combination of convinced mysticism and trenchant humor: a kind of humor fostered by the strong desire to face and affect the drab facts of human society in an age socially averse to mysticism. In the letters one can often catch Brooke's mysticism in the process of passing out into humor, as in the following: "The remedy is Mysticism, or Life, I'm not sure which" (so he writes at the age of twenty-three in regard to our social ills). "What happens is that I suddenly feel the extraordinary value and importance of everybody I meet. . . . I tell you that a Birmingham gouty Tariff Reform fifth-rate business man is splendid and immortal and desirable." But there was an issue still more significant. Two years later he writes: "That is the final rule of life, the best one ever made: 'Whoso shall offend one of these little ones'—remembering that all the eight hundred millions on earth, except oneself, are the little ones." For increasingly he saw that his "Mysticism or Life" should issue in firm goodness and self-control. He succeeded early in getting a strong grip of the fact that true social vision demands considerable repression of one's own individual desires. In this respect he surpassed many of his poetic contemporaries. His keen sense of social responsibility induced moral self-criticism, as in the following: "The worst of solitude, or the best, is that one begins poking at his own soul, examining it, cutting the soft and rotten parts away. And where's one to stop? Have you ever had, at lunch or dinner, an over-ripe pear or apple, and, determined to make the best of it, gone on slicing off the squashy bits? . . . After a minute there's a circle of messy brown rounding my plate, and in the centre a rather woe-begone brown-white thin shapeless scrap, the centre of the thing."

But the canvas of Brooke's constructive imagination was definitely limited, and his quandary illuminates Vachel Lindsay, Witter Bynner, and the other mystics of the new poetic movement. Poets with a narrative bent, such as Yeats, Masefield, Gibson, Frost, and Amy Lowell, can set themselves fruitfully at quarrying, from romantic and realistic fields, unused material of a more less external nature. But the mystical imagination needs to attach itself to some structure of central spiritual truth. And as such structures are not built overnight, the mystic who is to become an effectual poet soon sees the need of seriously studying the past, in the faith that it has established some firm beliefs which need to be reclothed in the art of the present. Keats, who died younger than Brooke, asserted: "I know nothing, I have read nothing; and I mean to follow Solomon's directions: 'Get learning, get understanding.' There is but one way for me. The road lies through application, study, and thought. I will pursue it." But Brooke had no such determination. For him, as for many of his contemporaries, the past had no great trustworthy meaning. His mystic sense of the solidarity of mankind was large enough to embrace half-dead persons who are living (such as the Tariff Reform business man mentioned above); but not large enough to embrace the most vital persons who are dead. Plato, indeed, he read with pleasure, but not with the view of winning some mental groundwork for mystic faith. He honestly called his own mysticism "merely a feeling," and asserted, "I refuse to be cheated by the feeling into any kind of belief. . . I still burn and torture Christians daily." Like other exponents of the new poetry, he was still much engaged in reacting from Victorianism: his letters show him zealously throwing away the shells of Victorian beliefs, without looking for firm kernels.

Brooke would not have turned out to be that Messiah for whom the new movement in poetry is waiting. Beautifully, indeed, his life and work demonstrate what fine excellences follow in the wake of poetic joy alone, if that joy be pure and strong. Brooke lifted the quality of his spirit above the flux of current life. But he did not lift his head above the flux of current spiritual opinion. Lacking the discipline which could have led to a structured faith, his imagination was increasingly restless, and sought compensation in ever wider variety of personal experience. It was this condition which drove him in May of 1913 to America and the South Seas. Much self-scrutiny accompanied his wanderings, and by March of 1914 he had decided that his outlook in poetry was small: he could see ahead of him only secondary artistic successes, and lengthening roads of sheer life-experience which would not converge upon any goal. Mr. Marsh quite misses the significance of this episode (pages 133-141). Indeed, one must conclude from the Memoir that among the poet's numerous friends in educational and literary

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circles there were none who fairly faced his spiritual malady, and at least a few who aggravated it. The true tragedy of Brooke's life, his realization of ingrowing purposelessness, was enacted before the war opened. Naval service provided him with a temporary guiding star. "The central purpose of my life," he wrote in the fall of 1914, "the end and aim of it now, the thing God wants of me, is to get good at beating Germans. That's sure. But that isn't what it was. What it was, I never knew; and God knows I never found it. But it reached out deeply for other things than my present need." Bearing this in mind, one may read with a new sense of their personal meaning the sonnets on "Peace" and "Safety" which were written a few months later; or this beautiful fragment, jotted in his notebook on the way to his death in the Mediterranean:

> He wears
> The ungathered blossom of quiet; stiller he
> Than a deep well at noon, or lovers met;
> Than sleep, or the heart after wrath. He is
> The silence following great words of peace.

An Example from Belgium

The Vocational Re-education of Maimed Soldiers. By Leon de Pauew. Translated by the Baronne Moncheur and Elizabeth Kemper Parrott. Princeton University Press.

WE have heard enough and perhaps too much of the horrors of the late war. It is all quite true, and the whole truth has not been and cannot be told; but there is another side to the story. The more terrible the forms of death and mutilation have been, the more heroically has the human spirit risen to confront them. The devilish ingenuity which devised new instruments of destruction has been countered by the divine passion for healing and reconstruction. In no war have there been such hosts of wounded men; but in no war has such a proportion of the wounded been rescued by the skill and devotion of doctor and nurse.

It seemed at first, however, as if there were a limit beyond which even the utmost skill and devotion could not go. The cripple, the handless or armless man, has been in all ages one of the saddest proofs of the destructive force of war. The dead are gone and often forgotten; the living wreck has dragged out a miserable existence before the eyes of the world. In earlier times he usually turned beggar; later he became a pensioner of the State. This was a step in advance, since it implied a recognition of the duty of the State to care for the man who had lost his manhood in the State's cause. But it does not need a very wide knowledge of pension systems in general, or an intimate acquaintance with our own Soldiers' Homes in particular, to realize that the State was far from performing its whole duty when it provided the wrecks of war with the means of living in monotonous idleness for the rest of their days. It has remained for the most recent times to discover the possibility of reconstructing the cripple and to insist upon the duty of the State to replace him, so far as is humanly possible—and the possibilities are very great—in the position as an active worker in civil life from which he was summoned by the call of war. Every nation engaged in the late war has recognized this duty; our own country, the last to enter the struggle, has yet to make adequate preparation for its performance. We need to look abroad for advice and example; and no better example could possibly be found than that afforded by the first victim of the war, heroic Belgium.

Monsieur de Pauew's book is a detailed record of the work done at the Belgian schools of Port-Villez and Sainte Adresse in France for the re-education and replacement of the crippled victims of the war. It gives us a living picture of a noble work undertaken in the face of great difficulties and carried through to an amazing degree of success. In the autumn of 1914, after the expulsion of the Belgians from the greater part of their country, a shocking condition of things prevailed. The field hospitals were overcrowded, base hospitals were not yet established, crippled soldiers were discharged from the army as soon as they were able to walk, and great numbers of them wandered through France and England, ragged and miserable, begging their daily bread. The Belgian Government rose to the situation. It decreed in November, 1914, that no wounded soldier incapable of pursuing his former trade should be discharged, but should be kept on the army rolls, and drafted into a school of re-education. Since this date, M. de Pauew declares, not a single crippled soldier has been cast adrift to shift for himself.

The school at Port-Villez, founded and maintained by the Belgian Government, stands on a plateau above the Seine, halfway between Rouen and Paris. When the land was turned over to the school, it was a bit of wild, uncultivated ground. A detachment of Belgian engineers attacked it in July, 1915, and pulled up some 25,000 stumps, preparatory to the erection of the school buildings. These now include ninety-two wooden barracks, patterned after the Belgian field hospital, to house the twelve hundred or so students, a large hall used as a refectory, theatre, and chapel, officers' quarters, an infirmary, a carpenter's shop, a garage, stables, etc. The school is organized in three distinct departments—the medical, the pedagogical, and the technical, each with its own responsible head.

The medical department examines the soldiers when they arrive, prescribes the treatment and exercises necessary to their physical rehabilitation, and plays an important part in their choice of a new trade. The pedagogical department offers various courses of study to complete the imperfect education of the soldiers, many of whom had left school at an early age. Classes are conducted in the mother-tongue of the scholars, in French for the Walloons, in Flemish for the Flemings; but both the languages are carefully taught to all the students, with the laudable aim of bridging over the language-gap in Belgium which the Germans have tried so hard to widen. It is an interesting fact that the Walloons almost without exception voted, when an opportunity was given, to continue their study of Flemish. Instruction is also given in arithmetic, the metric system, history, geography, and civics. Technical courses in drawing and tracing, in the study of tools and machinery, of raw materials, methods of handling, price-fixing and distribution, are also given, so that the graduate of the school becomes not merely an artisan capable of turning out a certain product by rule of thumb, but a true master-workman.

The real centre of the school is, of course, the technical department. This has charge of the workshops, teaches the men the practice of various arts and crafts from carpentry to decorative art, supervises the new construction called for by the development of the institution, and manages the school-farms. A great variety of trades are taught, the pupils are given expert advice as to those most suitable for their physical condition, and they are encouraged to begin as soon as possible actual paying work which affords an acceptable supplement to their meagre allowance of about eight cents a day. The results obtained by the eagerness and industry of the students and the skilled direction of the instructors are little short of marvellous. In addition to the workshops the school owns or leases several farms where peasant soldiers are taught improved methods of agriculture, market gardening, poultry raising, etc. In short, to quote the author's apt comparison, the school today resembles a great abbey of the Middle Ages, self-contained and self-supporting. It is like an abbey, too, in that it does not confine its instruction to manual trades and farm work. There is a school for "Assistants in Commerce, Trade and Administration," where students are taught book-keeping, salesmanship, telegraphy, including wireless, stenography, etc., and are fitted for positions in commercial life or in the civil service. Arrangements have even been made by which advanced students may reside in a house belonging to the school in Paris, and attend courses in the higher schools or the university, where they can pursue their professional studies interrupted by the war.

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It is a splendid piece of organization, but Monsieur de Pauew makes plain in every chapter that it is not organization alone that has produced such results. Behind all the administrative machinery, guiding and inspiring it, lies a fine, sensitive, and sympathetic spirit. And here, it would seem, is the lesson of the book for us. America, it may be said without overmuch boasting, has not much to learn from others in the matter of organization. But we are, perhaps, too prone to believe that a well-built machine—"fool-proof" we call it—will run itself. Such a school as Port-Villez, however, is not a machine at all, but a community of human individuals; and it is by individual attention, training, and sympathy far more than by mere organized methods that its success has been attained.

Honor Among Nations

What Is National Honor? By Leo Perla. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

IN his preface Mr. Perla points out that "National Honor has been the cause of almost every war of history. Yet the two Hague Conferences omitted it from their jurisdiction. The League to Enforce Peace disposes of the problem by excluding 'non-justiciable questions' (i. e., honor) from the field of its endeavor. Even the Inter-Allied Labor Conference fell a victim to the masked phrase, and in its proposal of a court of arbitration to insure the future peace of the world, it excluded all questions of honor." This being the case, it is of prime importance to find out just what National Honor consists of. What is the exact ideal implied in the phrase? Is it something clear and specific, like that implied in the physican's phrase, "professional honor"? Evidently not. "When a nation declares that National Honor is the one thing which it can never consent to arbitrate, we know almost nothing about the implication which the phrase comprises."

By way of getting at the various interpretations that have been put upon the phrase, the author gives a list of 135 quotations from books, speeches, pamphlets, and periodicals bearing on its use in connection with specific events in the world's history, in an attempt to discover whether there is any consensus of opinion as to its exact meaning. These include, for example, a passage from Thorstein Veblen's "The Nature of Peace," in which, referring to the disregard of conventional punctilios governing diplomatic intercourse, we read: "National Honor is subject to injury in divers ways and so may yield a fruitful grievance even apart from offences against the person or property of the nation's business men, as, for example, . . . by disrespect or contumelious speech touching the flag . . . or again, by failing to observe the ritual prescribed for parading the National Honor on stated occasions." William Hohenzollern, when Kaiser, said in one of his speeches: "Our Honor demands that no treaty should be made in any part of the world henceforth without the approval of Germany"—which is rather a large order. And Treitschke: "It has become essential to enlarge the territory of the state and *corriger la figure de la Prusse*, if Prussia wants to be independent and to bear with honor the great name of a kingdom." Our own Roosevelt contributes this: "They [pacifists] have advocated the silly and wicked peace commission treaties which have actually been adopted by our Government during recent years; treaties which in any serious crisis this nation would certainly break; treaties which it would be dishonorable to break, and far more dishonorable in any crisis to keep." From these extracts it is apparent that National Honor is a meaningless phrase, easily stretched to cover any possible form of national grievance, and that an arbitrational treaty that excepts offences touching National Honor from its jurisdiction is not worth the paper it is written on. The remedy for this state of affairs the author finds in the substitution of International for National Honor, of which he says: "Now the technique by which a sentiment of International Honor can be created must be the same as that which created the sentiment of National Honor. All of its characteristics will be the same except that the geographical bases of it will be enlarged to include humanity instead of mere fragments of it." Mr. Perla has given us an interesting and timely book, and one well worthy of the serious consideration of those who have the reconstitution of European affairs in their hands to-day.

Echoes and Shadows

The Marne. By Edith Wharton. New York: D. Appleton & Co. $1.25.

Tales of the War. By Lord Dunsany. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. $1.25.

Walking Shadows. By Alfred Noyes. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. $1.50.

Echoes of the War. By J. M. Barrie. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.

VERY thoroughly the story has been told of how the war came home to the middle-aged of England and this country, and to their sons of fighting years. The tale of the eager striplings, under age and fretting always in our households and our colleges—pleading, lying, running away to "take a chance" in Canada or anywhere that offered a possible door for "getting into it"—this tale has been less intelligibly told. Why were they so eager? To escape from bounds? To prove their manhood? To take a short-cut to the wildest of adventures? Or did they have their full share of that crusading spirit, that impulse to fight *for* something infinitely higher than themselves and their own little interests, we have given their elders credit for? In "The Marne" Mrs. Wharton chooses to interpret the experience of an American boy too young to fight, but old enough for ambulance service in his beloved France. Troy Belknap belongs to the popularly discredited class of the rich man's sons. He has a busy father and a foolish mother, and should by all the rules be spoiled and of small account. But it chances that his summers from the beginning of boyhood have been passed in France and Switzerland, his chief intimate "an ugly vehement young tutor, of half-English descent, whose companionship opened fresh fields and pastures to Troy's dawning imagination" (why not "woods and pastures," as the much-misquoted poet hath it?). Troy has sense and character and imagination, for France and her young vehement one to nourish. He acquires a love and understanding of her rare among aliens, especially, perhaps, aliens of Troy's nativity. Through his eyes we see unfold the bitter drama of the Marne, in which, with his ambulance, he plays such part as is permitted him till in the last triumphal scene fate and overpowering impulse sweep him forward with the Americans, and Vaux and Château-Thierry become great names in history. And Mrs. Wharton shows us many an American in that hour fighting, like Troy, not for France the pitied but for France the adored.

Lord Dunsany's "Tales of the War" are of uneven quality. The collection is marred by a Kaiser-hatred which amounts almost to an obsession. Quite a third of these "tales" (most of which are reflections, or impressions, or fancies, inspired by the war, rather than in any sense stories) give expression to the writer's sense of the Kaiser's personal responsibility for what has happened to the world, and of the price that he must pay. The devastated lands of France are "an imperial monument" to "the hyena-like memory of the Kaiser, who has whitened so many bones." His punishment will be to learn what he is—and to be forgotten. Perhaps his soul will be condemned to linger, suffering, near the scenes of its guilt. "Will seafarers ages hence on dim October evenings, or on nights when the moon is ominous through the mist, red and huge and uncanny, see a lonely figure sometimes on the loneliest part of the sea, far north of where the Lusitania sank, gathering all the cold it can? Will they see it hugging a crag of iceberg wan as itself, helmet,

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cuirass, and ice pale-blue —in the mist together? Will it look towards them with ice-blue eyes through the mist, and will they question it, meeting on those bleak seas? Will it answer—or will the North Wind howl like voices? Will the cry of seals be heard, and ice-floes grinding, and strange birds lost upon the wind that night, or will it speak to them in those distant years and tell them how it sinned, betraying man?" Alas, if only the Kaiser or any other might thus stand through eternity as scapegoat for a world's sins!

In the "Walking Shadows" of another poet who thus makes his beginning as a writer of prose fiction, there is a still more haunting fancy of retribution. It is called "The *Lusitania* Waits," and is the tale told by an Englishman, before his mental breakdown, of an experience as prisoner in a submarine commanded by the officer who sank the Lusitania—next to the Kaiser the best-hated man of our time. Suddenly, as the craft lies on the bottom after its latest exploit, a strange sound is heard, "a funny little tapping sound all round the hull of the submarine, like little soft hands it was, tapping, tapping, tapping." The captain confusedly challenges, "Who's there?" and a thin voice answers "Christmas Eve, the Waits, sir!" The order is given to rise to the surface, but the submarine does not budge, and all around comes the faint sound of a thousand voices lifting an English carol. So the captain and all hands put on their air-tanks and open the hatch for escape; but the singing hundreds meet them and hold them, all but the English mariner, with friendly hands and greeting: "Won't you come and join us? It's Christmas Eve, you know." This and two or three other brief sketches and fantasies are of higher quality than the elaborate stories—frank yarns, several of them—that give bulk to the volume. As a story-teller, Mr. Noyes seems often to lack the instinct for elimination and compression which, whatever may be true of the novel (and it should be remembered that Henry James himself thought it of primary importance there), is essential in the perfect tale. "Goblin Peaches," the story of a German submarine base on the Maine coast, is the best of the yarns; though if Mr. Noyes had ever experienced the cold of those seas he might have made a more serious business of immersing his adventurers for purposes of concealment. It is not the kind of water that one "slips into" with a chuckle of delight.

The four little plays in "Echoes of the War" are so printed, and so fully furnished with directions and commentary, as to have the effect of stories. They are full of the Barrie humor and the Barrie tenderness, with less of childlike whimsy, perhaps, than of old. If this gentle commentator on life has not yet experienced the disaster of "growing up," or has not yet lost his belief in fairies, one feels that for him, too, there has been the conscious obligation to "carry on," and to practice for all our sakes the enchantment of heart-easing mirth. Some spark of merriment must be kept alive in England. Hence the great office of this kindly magician—sentimentalist, if you will—who has the secret of making the heart swell and the eyes shine, whether with healing tears or equally healing laughter, we hardly know. He deals here, as always, with the homeliest human materials. The heroine of "The Old Lady Shows Her Medals" is a nice old Scotch charwoman in London, whose preemption of an unknown "kiltie" is happily endorsed by the event. In our final glimpse of the old lady—a month or two after the death of her soldier in action—we see her in "the familiar garments that make a third to her mop and pail," pausing for a moment to take an adoring look at her strange little store of "medals," before starting out into the dawn. "The New Word" is an episode of British father and son, discovering each other in wartime, and so is "A Well-Remembered Voice," though in the latter case the son happens to be dead in the body. "Barbara's Wedding" is the touching portrait of an extremely old English Colonel, dim of mind but stout and loyal of heart, fumbling for the meaning of a strange new time of trial for England of which he is tragically not a part. . . . Yes, we too believe in fairies!

Books in Brief

IN the second volume of Dr. Arthur W. Calhoun's "Social History of the American Family" (Arthur H. Clark Co.), which covers the period from independence to the Civil War, there is as much of interest and instruction as in the first volume, and there also reappear the principal defects of the first. A number of moulding influences have to be traced throughout this volume, the most prominent being pioneer settlement, the development of industrialism in Eastern cities, the rise of an accompanying urban wealth and luxury, and the flowering of the Southern chattel-slave system. A more distinctively American family life is treated than that of the Colonial era, when the people were under direct European influence; but it is still almost completely Anglo-Saxon. Various chapters discuss the fashion of early marriage and the high birth rate; the slow emancipation of childhood from complete repression; the first steps in the emergence of women; and the contrast between Spartan discipline and heroic labor on the one hand throughout most of America, and self-indulgence in a few Eastern circles, between predominant puritan morality and occasional licentiousness. One defect of the treatment is that the chapters draw no lines of sectional division except as between North and South. Any student of our history knows that the Middle States family differed markedly from the New England family, and the Western family from either; that there were even considerable differences between the Vermont family and the Connecticut family. As in the first volume, Dr. Calhoun draws most of his material from travellers, and the very discordance of their testimony (as on page 45, where they disagree violently as to the prevalence of divorce) is one evidence of their unreliability. We feel also that they are harsh judges, for they remark upon the exceptional rather than the commonplace, and especially on the exceptionally bad. Some of the author's conclusions seem hasty. His chapter on "The Reign of Self-Indulgence," which quotes denunciatory ministers, ladies' magazines, authors like Tower, the writer of "Slavery Unmasked," and caustic travellers, leaves us unconvinced that self-indulgence reigned quite as widely as he assumes. The chapters on "The White Family in the Old South," "Racial Association in the Old South," and "Negro Sex and Family Relations," while containing much that is all too true, seem in places rather too dark-colored. It is a "popular" rather than a sociologically technical work, and one part of its "popularity" is a certain want of critical incisiveness. But it breaks ground in an important field.

NOW that it has come to pass, in a sense not contemplated by the Kaiser in the days of the Boxer Rebellion, that no one cares to look a Uhlan in the face again, a rather melancholy interest attaches to the publication of such a pacific study as Theodore Brown Hewitt's "Paul Gerhardt as a Hymn Writer and his Influence on English Hymnody" (Yale University Press). Here in this somewhat dryly academic and methodical thesis is a strangely disquieting reminder of the old pious warm-hearted Germany that taught the English to praise God in song; that gave a refuge in Luther's time to the Reformers whom Henry VIII oppressed; that through the Moravian missionaries and colonists in London and Georgia inspired the Wesleyan singing; and that again in the nineteenth century, in no small measure through the influence of Gerhardt, contributed generously to the revival of hymn-writing in England. Paul Gerhardt lived through the Thirty Years' War, and the horrors of that period made the setting for his deep religious serenity and joy. In the midst of tumult he expressed his faith that the meek would inherit the earth and his profound aspiration for peace, temporal and eternal. The relatively late development of hymn-writing and congregational singing in English, and the general ignorance of the German language which prevailed among English writers up to the time of Coleridge, postponed recognition of Gerhardt's high talent till the mid-nineteenth cen-

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tury. Eighty-four of his hymns have now been translated and adapted; and many of them, sometimes with considerable variations, are included in the current hymnals. After a sketch of German and English hymnody, Mr. Hewitt discusses these English versions with reference to their earliest appearance in the hymn books. The following stanza from "Wie ist so grosz und schwer die Last" is from a translation of 1867:

> How heavy is the burden made
> That Thou upon our backs hast laid,
> O God! the Lord of Hosts,
> O God, whose anger rises high
> 'Gainst workers of iniquity.

IN his "Tale of a Plain Man" (Winston; $2), ex-Governor Stone of Pennsylvania has shown that a man whose years have not been devoted to literary pursuits can put into a life story a larger measure of humor, truth, and realism than is usually to be met with in the work of a professional writer. More than a third of Mr. Stone's book portrays rural life on the Northern Tier of Pennsylvania as it was before the Civil War. Under the Connecticut claim this region was settled by people from Connecticut and other parts of New England. The author's father went there from Massachusetts in the year 1831, with his wife and child and a one-horse wagon, riding or walking the whole distance. In the author's boyhood, and long afterwards, it was a region cut off from the more developed portions of Pennsylvania by the Alleghany mountains and from the rest of the world by rough roads and long distances. The elevations of the region are often two thousand feet above sea level; the winters are long and cold, and the summers brief. Among these Pennsylvanians of New England ancestry in ex-Governor Stone's boyhood the neighborhood blacksmith bled the sick and drew out defective teeth. His mother's eyestone, dipped in vinegar, was in constant use in the vicinity. There was no physician who had graduated at a medical school. The preachers or elders, like the doctors, were often untutored, and read the Bible with difficulty. The household religion, however, was such as to form habits which endured for life. There is no hint in the book of any sense of deprivation or of what a softer generation would take to be hardship in the life described. Instead, the humorous aspects, the unfailing courage, the abounding vitality, are set forth. From this region and from such conditions young Stone, at the age of seventeen, enlisted in the Union army. After the Civil War he returned to school, studied law, became the District Attorney of his county, removed to Pittsburgh, where, as United States District Attorney, he earned the respect of Senator Don Cameron by insisting on his right to name his own assistant. Afterwards he was a useful member of Congress, and finally became Governor of his State. The book reveals the secret of the author's success with his political constituency—kindliness, sympathy, insight into human nature, sincerity not unmixed with shrewdness, and that combination of qualities the sum of which is expressed in the word "manliness."

A CAREFULLY prepared brief manual is Mr. Edward Jenks's "Government of the British Empire" (Little, Brown; $2). The functions of the King-Emperior are first outlined. Then follow accounts of the colonies, of India, and of those self-governing states, now called Dominions, which once were colonies but now are nations. The Cabinet, Parliament, the army and navy, the treasury and other departments, the courts of Justice, the established church, one in England (Episcopal), the other in Scotland (Presbyterian), and last of all, local government. The book is more or less technical, covering in succinct form the whole range of institutions. In such a book accuracy is a chief test of value. Mr. Jenks is usually accurate; but it is not true that "all the Dominions are, and always have been, regarded by the Imperial Government, not as dependents . . . but as voluntary partners." It is this "always have been" which is mischievous. Canada was not "a voluntary partner," in any real sense, until the Canadian provinces were federated. The war has changed profoundly the inner meaning of some British institutions. The Cabinet, for instance, had kept no records of its meetings until the pressure of the war made it businesslike. Now it acts with the formality and exactness of a Board of Directors. Mr. Jenks does not discuss a change in Cabinet government which may be far-reaching. In December, 1916, Mr. Lloyd George, the new Prime Minister, summoned an Imperial War Cabinet, in which have sat since then the Prime Ministers of Canada, Australia, and other Dominions, and two representatives of India. It is a governing body, not a conference, for it takes executive action and directs policy. In it is represented the whole British Empire, with its four hundred million people. What might not have happened if the American colonies had been summoned to such a body! The Imperial War Cabinet expresses both the variety and the political equality of the nations within the British Empire. Their equality is so real that it is almost certain that the present Governor-General of Canada will prove to be the last one to be sent out from England. Enthusiasts talk even of a Canadian Viceroy for Ireland, which might, indeed, help to solve the tough problem of Ireland. Mr. Jenks may be accepted as a safe guide over the ground which he covers. What he has written is in reality a constitutional text-book.

IN his presidential address to the Classical Association, delivered on June 8, 1918, to which he gives the title "Religio Grammatici" (Houghton Mifflin; $1), Professor Gilbert Murray says that by the word *religio*, or religion, he understands the thing which offers a man a secret and permanent way of escape from the prison of his external circumstances. "Religion," he says, "even in the narrow sense, is always looking for *soteria*, for escape, for some salvation from the terror to come or some deliverance from the body of this death." Such an escape the man of letters finds in *grammatike*—in its widest sense the art of interpreting the *grammata*, and so re-living the chosen moments of human life wherever they may be recorded. In conclusion, Professor Murray expressly disclaims any denial of or disrespect towards the religions of others. "The religion of those who follow physical science," he says, "is a magnificent and life-giving thing. The *traditio* would be utterly imperfect without it." And he adds: "I can understand the religion of the artist, the religion of the philanthropist. I can understand the religion of those many people, mostly young, who reject alike books and microscopes and easels and committees, who forget both the before and the hereafter, and live rejoicing in an actual concrete present, which they can ennoble by merely loving it, as a happy man may get more beauty out of an average field of grass and daisies than out of all the landscapes in the National Gallery."

IN compliance with the request of her two friends, Miss Gaylord and Mrs. Wylie, Margaret Cameron established rapport with what professed to be the spirit of their brother Frederick, communications from whom and from others are reproduced in her book, "The Seven Purposes" (Harpers; $2). Of the messages themselves it must be said that those which are not trivial are hopelessly cryptic. From a "spirit" named Mary Kendal was received a series of communications here called "lessons"—revelations that reveal nothing, as, for instance, this: "The time has not yet come when men in the mass have vision. The great purpose to the small mind is vague and of no significance. Personal motives are more easily recognized than purpose, and church and state emphasize and encourage them." Among the "spirit" participants in the séances was William James, whose communication goes far to justify those who hold that, if discarnate human beings are responsible for so-called psychic phenomena, they have suffered serious mental deterioration in transition to the spirit plane. Of Mr. Alfred W. Martin's book, "Psychic Tendencies of To-day" (Appleton; $1.50), the most interesting part is that devoted to a sympathetic, but severely critical, review of Sir Oliver Lodge's "Raymond," which, from an evidential point of view, Mr. Martin finds himself compelled to discount seriously. Himself a convinced believer in immor-

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tality, he thinks that "our one ultimate ground for faith in the persistence of our essential selfhood is subjective and ethical rather than objective and experimental."

IN "A Century of Negro Migration" (Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; $1) Carter Godwin Woodson does not presume to say the last word on the subject. "The exodus of the negro from the South," he states, "has just begun. The blacks have recently realized that they have freedom of body, and they will now proceed to exercise that right." His first chapter is devoted to a study of the rise and fall of slavery in the United States. It is not generally known that migration of Negroes to the North started as early as 1812. Of these early migrations the author says those who took part in them were of a more intelligent class than those who are fleeing from the South to-day; the latter are largely laborers seeking opportunity. Of future conditions he says hopefully: "While there may be an increase of race prejudice in the North, the same will in that proportion decrease in the South, thus balancing the equation, while giving the Negro his best chance in the economic world, out of which he must emerge a real man with power to secure his rights as an American citizen." In the most interesting chapter of Benjamin Brawley's "Your Negro Neighbor" (Macmillan; 60 cents), the author discusses some of the fallacies indulged in by critics of the Negro race. Here, among other things, he points out that the common inferiority of blacks to whites in most communities arises not from the accident of color but from differences of training and opportunity.

JOSEPH WARREN BEACH, who published some years ago a study of George Meredith's novels, gives further indication of his taste for exacting authors by putting forth a volume on "The Method of Henry James" (Yale University Press). He found Meredith chiefly interesting for his philosophical ideas. James he explores with special reference to his technical inventions and artistic values. He receives his cues mainly from James's own fondly gloating prefaces to the "New York" edition of the novels—prefaces written expressly, one might surmise, for the allurement of such patient followers as Professor Beach. In the first part of the study he discusses with somewhat densely packed illustration and allusion the germ, form, tone, evolution, and ethics of Jacobean fiction. In the second part he charts James's development, dividing the work into six periods, and, in conformity with most recent criticism, awarding the palm to the richly difficult novels of the last period, including "The Wings of the Dove," "The Golden Bowl," and "The Ambassadors." Mr. Beach declines to undertake posterity's task; and, though he is intelligently appreciative, he is not notable for gusto. His merit is in his knowledge of the ways of his author, whom he has studied with the close attention of a chess-player.

OVER a thousand pages of well-selected material are offered in Dr. Leon Carroll Marshall's "Readings in Industrial Society" (University of Chicago Press; $3.50). The scope of the work is indicated in the sub-title as "a study in the structure and functioning of modern economic organization." The collection is not merely an assemblage of familiar quotations; the organization of the matter testifies to the editorial ability of Professor Marshall; and in range of subject, with elaborate development of detail, this volume surpasses other similar works now available. The statements printed, though often somewhat brief, are adequate, and represent in nearly every case the most recent expression of fact and opinion obtainable. A definite goal of understanding industrial society as a structure in actual operation gives unity to the whole; and the value of the book for study or reference is rendered very considerable by an analysis of the problems at issue and a list of stimulating questions before each chapter. Since the "Readings" possess so many merits, it is to be regretted that the form of publication, as regards the quality of paper and binding, leaves something to be desired.

Literary Notes

Lord Dunsany is coming to this country soon, for an extended lecturing tour through the East and Middle West.

"Experiments in International Administration," by Francis Bowes Sayre, appears on the January list of the Harpers.

An eye-witness's account of the Russian revolution is soon to be published by Boni & Liveright in John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World."

A two-volume account of the "Life, Work, and Friends" of that fine and forceful personality, Canon Barnett, has been prepared by his wife, and will soon appear.

Norman Angell's new book, "The British Revolution and American Democracy," which Mr. Huebsch will publish at once, is a study of present labor conditions in England, and their bearing upon American problems.

Elisha M. Friedman, editor of a recent symposium on "American Problems of Reconstruction," has written a book on "Labor and Reconstruction in Europe," which the Duttons announce for publication toward the end of this month.

Marshal Foch's exhaustive study of "The Principles of War," wherein are developed the theories which have guided his victorious campaign on the Western front, will appear shortly in a translation by Hilaire Belloc.

Two volumes on China to appear at once with the Macmillan imprint are "China and the World War," by W. Reginald Wheeler of Hang-chow Christian College, and "Foreign Financial Control in China," by T. W. Overlach.

Edward D. Trowbridge is the author of an immediately forthcoming book on "Mexico To-day and To-morrow," which is a comprehensive statement of the general situation in Mexico, political, social, financial, and economic.

Two timely volumes announced by Longmans are "Economic Reconstruction" by J. Taylor Peddie, being a further development of this author's "Natural System of Economics"; and "A League of Nations" by L. Oppenheim, consisting of three lectures recently delivered before the University of Cambridge.

Sir J. G. Frazer, author of that enduring monument of scholarship, "The Golden Bough," has recently completed an extensive work on "Folk-Lore in the Old Testament," described in the sub-title as "studies in comparative religion, legend, and law."

A study of the English village in English literature during the period 1750-1850, with particular regard to its significance in the social and economic history of the time, has been made by Julia Patton in a volume announced for immediate issue by the Macmillan Company.

"The New America: By an Englishman," which the Macmillans will publish soon, is a study of new forces, tendencies, and outlook in the United States resulting from participation in the world war. It is the work of Frank Dilnot, an English newspaper correspondent for some time resident in this country.

The effects of the war upon English character, dealt with by Arnold Bennett in "The Pretty Lady," form the general theme also of his forthcoming story, "The Roll Call," which Doran will publish this month. In a way the new book is a continuation of the "Clayhanger" trilogy, inasmuch as Hilda Lessways's son is the central figure.

In General Basil Gourko's "Russia, 1914-17: Memories and Recollections of War and Revolution," the ex-chief of the Russian Imperial General Staff will tell the story of military events in Russia from the mobilization of the army to the time of the Czar's abdication. The Macmillan Company announces the book as nearly ready for publication.

A forthcoming volume of "New Poems and Variant Readings" by Robert Louis Stevenson will be eagerly awaited by the hosts of R. L. S. enthusiasts. It is edited by Lloyd Osbourne, who says that the poems were discovered by the Bibliophile Society of Boston, who gave them "light in a privately printed edition, thus making them known, in fact, to the world at large. Otherwise they would have remained scattered and hidden indefinitely in the hands of various collectors."

Cowper lovers in America should be interested in an appeal recently made by Clement Shorter in the *Sphere* on behalf of the rescue of Cowper's summer-house at Olney, where many of his best known poems were written. The simple structure, with the garden adjoining, stands in juxtaposition to the Cowper Museum, once Cowper's house, and now in the possession of the nation. The owner asks the sum of £450 for the freehold, and gives the Cowper Museum authorities the first option of purchase. If not sold to them it will go to the speculative builder and be destroyed.

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Drama

Pinero as a Dramatist

THE second volume of the authorized Library Edition of specially selected plays by Sir Arthur Wing Pinero* contains "The Gay Lord Quex" and "Iris." Most students of the modern drama will agree that they are rightfully included among the representative works of their author at his best. Whether, as the present editor, Mr. Clayton Hamilton, intimates, they are calculated to stimulate the pursuit upon the stage of what Matthew Arnold called "high seriousness" is a point concerning which there may easily be difference of opinion. Both tell interesting stories, are good reading, and show sound and careful literary workmanship, notwithstanding the somewhat labored and artificial character of many passages in the dialogue. They exhibit power of vivid and varied, if not markedly original or imaginative, characterization; a notable faculty of keen observation, and an intimate familiarity with the ways of the social world, especially in some of its shadier manifestations. Undoubtedly they have justifiable claims upon the renewal of public attention which will be attracted to them by their reappearance.

Brilliant achievements as they are, in many respects, neither of them, when measured by the higher critical standards, can aspire to the dimensions of greatness as either literature or drama. Glittering, fairly plausible, but often essentially unveracious studies of recognizable types, adroitly but arbitrarily associated, they have no weight of universal truth and significance, no depth of conviction or inspirational utterance, no traffic with the bigger or better elements of human nature, no great novelty of view, no discernible sincerity of purpose. The material is largely sordid and ignoble, the treatment of it artful but superficial. It is possible to agree very heartily with Mr. Hamilton in his appreciation of Pinero's admirable dexterity, while finding it difficult to give assent to some of his most enthusiastic critical estimates. Pinero is admitted, very generally, to be supreme as a theatrical artificer, and he is something more, but he is not a great dramatist. His characters, though often well drawn upon a somewhat exaggerated scale, are not in any way notably original or, it might be added, natural. Few of them could endure the test of deliberate analysis. They are devised to supply a carefully calculated situation, and it is by their adaptability to that that they are known and judged. Individually they are all common clay, more or less artistically moulded. It is an unfortunate comparison that Mr. Hamilton makes between "Iris" and "The Fugitive" of John Galsworthy. It is true that the themes of these plays are virtually identical and that, from the purely theatrical point of view, the version of Pinero is infinitely more elaborate, showy, and crafty; but as a bit of life drama, a poignant, logical, and unflinching study of a decent, but ill-equipped, woman driven to ruin and death by the force of cruel circumstances against which all her struggles are vain, "The Fugitive" is by far the more considerable achievement. It deals with real men and women and actual conditions, and the fate of the heroine has that inevitability which in tragedy marks the difference between the work of the ingenious playwright and that of the true dramatist.

J. R. T.

*"The Social Plays of Arthur Wing Pinero." vol. ii. Edited by Clayton Hamilton. Dutton. $2.

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Finance

The Public Utilities Crisis

APPOINTMENT of Judge Lindley M. Garrison, former Secretary of War, as receiver for the Brooklyn Rapid Transit system has given fresh interest to the position of the public service companies throughout the United States. The lease of the new subways to be operated by the Interborough Rapid Transit Company became effective on the first day of January, in accordance with the arrangement made last summer. Theodore P. Shonts, president of the Interborough, in a letter to the city authorities, declares that the city can gain nothing "by starving the Interborough into bankruptcy. On the contrary, it can indirectly do itself great financial damage through the impairment of approximately $500,000,000 of securities in the combined Interborough system." Mr. Shonts contends that bankruptcy is inevitable unless the company is permitted to advance passenger fares, and he urges that action be taken immediately toward raising the fare from five cents to eight cents. The situation is put up squarely to the city authorities and the public service commission for such action as is needed forthwith.

This brings the Greater New York section into the territory where the street railways are claiming an increased fare as the only way out of a very difficult situation. A large proportion of the trolley lines of the United States, measuring on the basis of mileage, have within the past year abandoned the five-cent fare. Most of the roads are charging six and seven cents, and some are asking in addition for permission to charge one cent for each transfer issued. Since it has been estimated that the New York Railways Company issued transfers last year at a cost of $767,787, it is obvious that the roads as a whole would gain heavily in additional revenue were they able to cut out the transfer privilege altogether. This change will be difficult to make in New York, however, since the community has acquired the "transfer habit," and a very large proportion of the passengers enjoy two rides for five cents. Should the local companies be permitted to impose an eight-cent fare it would mean a radical change at a time when the high cost of living is extremely burdensome.

The position of some of the trolley companies here and elsewhere, however, is becoming serious. One has only to examine the statement of earnings to see how impossible it will be for the companies to make both ends meet unless they are granted an increased fare. Many of the companies are in a position where they cannot supply themselves with necessary equipment, owing to their inability to sell securities on advantageous terms. The price of rails, cars, and all other materials used by street rail-

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way companies has increased so sharply since the world war began as to make it impossible for these carriers to make both ends meet with a five-cent fare, even disregarding the sensational increase in the labor cost.

Various state commissions have recognized this situation, and, by granting the increases asked, have made it possible for the companies affected to continue in business. Since President Wilson called attention several weeks ago to the predicament of the companies, their position has become much more serious because of the further advance in wages which the War Labor Board has forced many of them to grant. In enforcing these higher wage schedules, however, the board in many instances has recommended that the trolley companies be permitted to increase fares and so provide their employees with a wage sufficient to cover the greatly increased cost of living.

It is time, however, that this question of increased trolley fares should be satisfactorily solved. Inasmuch as the whole country is agitating these increases, it would seem to be wise for some Federal commission to conduct a thoroughgoing investigation in the effort to get a report upon the exact facts. The street railway companies have in many instances been limited by franchise to the five-cent fare, but the time has apparently come when this limit must be raised, if the operating companies are to continue to render high-grade service to the public.

What has happened in New York city since the year opened has been calculated to interest all trolley-using communities in the position of the companies. These roads cannot continue on the old basis of fare, if they are obliged to pay greatly increased wages and to pay almost as much for second-hand rails as they formerly paid for new ones. The day of the five-cent trolley fare seems to be over, and the Government may be forced before long to mint seven-cent pieces, in order to provide the public with a convenient coin.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK

POETRY AND DRAMA

Campbell, L. B. A History of Costuming on the English Stage Between 1660 and 1823. Madison; University of Wisconsin.

Carnegie Tech. War Verse and the Soldier's Progress. Carnegie Institute of Technology Press.

Christ in the Poetry of To-Day. An Anthology from American Poets. Woman's Press. $2.

Fiske, H. S. Ballads of Peace and War. Stratford Company. 75 cents.

Reed, P. I. The Realistic Presentation of American Characters in Native American Plays Prior to 1870. Ohio: University of Columbus.

FICTION

Hergesheimer, Joseph. Java Head. Knopf. $1.50.

Lagerlöf, Selma. Gösta Berling's Saga. 2 volumes. American Scandinavian Foundation. $3.

Punshon, E. R. The Solitary House. Knopf. $1.50.

Wolcott, Laura. A Gray Dream and Other Stories of New England Life. Yale University Press.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Larned, J. N. English Leadership. Springfield, Mass: C. A. Nichols Company. $2.75.

Powers, H. H. The Great Peace. Macmillan. $2.25.

Seymour, Charles, and Frary, D. P. How the World Votes. 2 volumes. Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols Company. $6.50.

Choloniewski, Antoni. The Spirit of Polish History. Translated by J. Arctowska. Polish Book Importing Company, Inc.

Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century. Edited by A. Oakes and R. B. Mowat. Oxford University Press. $3.40.

EDUCATION

Delano, J. A. American Red Cross Textbook on Home Hygiene and Care of the Sick. Blakiston.

Long, P. W., and Hershey, F. W. C. Military English. Macmillan.

Lynch, Charles. American Red Cross Textbooks on First Aid. General and Woman's editions. Blakiston.

THE WAR

Adams, B. K. The American Spirit. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press.

Cobb, I. S. The Glory of the Coming. Doran. $1.75 net.

Geiser, K. F. Democracy versus Autocracy. Heath.

Hocking, W. E. Morale and Its Enemies. Yale Univ. Press. $1.50.

Price, M. P. War and Revolution in Asiatic Russia. Macmillan. $3.

Religion and the War. By members of the Faculty of the School of Religion. Yale University Press. $1.

MISCELLANEOUS

Barrès, Maurice. Les Traits Eternels de la France. Yale University Press. $1.

Herbert, Mrs. S. Sex Lore. Macmillan. $3.

Pictures of Illinois One Hundred Years Ago. Edited by M. M. Quaife. Chicago: Lakeside Press.

Seirel, G. The Fall. Pittsburgh: The Lessing Company. 35 cents.

Sargent, A. J. Seaways of the Empire. Macmillan. $3.

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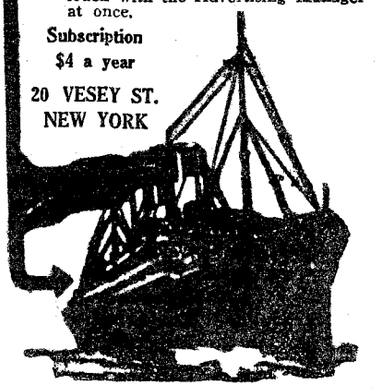

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International Relations Section

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The Establishment of the German Provisional Governments. I.

By CHARLES HENRY HUBERICH and RICHARD KING

THE action of the German National Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, on December 18, in transferring legislative and executive power to the moderate Socialists, as represented by the Ebert Government, until further arrangements are made by the National Assembly, to be elected on January 19, may be regarded as a formal recognition of the provisional Government set up on November 9. It is the purpose of this article to give the provisions of the principal enactments and manifestos of this Government as published in the German *Official Gazette** down to November 30, the date of the latest number received at the time of writing, together with the final acts of the former Government which led up to the transition.

The military reverses which began in July, general weariness of war, and internal economic conditions reached a climax in the last days of October. The debates in the Reichstag became increasingly acrimonious, the Radicals expressing freely their demands for peace and for the abdication of the Kaiser. Ludendorff's resignation came too late; the troops demanded peace and demobilization. The Kiel mutiny was symptomatic of the condition of the entire country. The Kaiser gave assurances of reform in a decree dated October 28, but not published until six days later. Military commanders attempted to repress the revolutionary movement by force. On November 7, General von Linsingen, Commander-in-Chief in the Mark Brandenburg, issued an order setting forth that

> In certain circles the intention exists, in disregard of legal provisions, to establish workmen's and soldiers' councils in the Russian form.
>
> Such institutions are contrary to the existing form of the state and are a menace to public security.
>
> Under section 9 (b) of the law concerning a state of siege, I forbid the formation of such associations and any participation therein.

Meanwhile the final note of President Wilson of November 5 had been received, and on the following day the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Max of Baden, issued an announcement of the acceptance of the terms, and appealed to the people to preserve order (*Official Gazette*, November 7).

> President Wilson replied to-day to the German note and stated that his Allies have agreed to the fourteen points under which he subsumed his conditions of peace in January of the present year, with the exception of the freedom of the seas, and stated that the conditions of the armistice would be communicated by Marshal Foch. The bases for the negotiations for peace and for an armistice are thereby given. In order to put an end to the bloodshed, the German delegates were appointed to-day and have left for the West for the purpose of concluding an armistice and of taking up peace negotiations.
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> The successful carrying out of the negotiations is seriously impeded by disturbances and other undisciplined conduct.
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> For over four years, the German nation has borne the greatest sufferings and sacrifices of the war in unity and in calm. If the national strength should give way at the critical time, in which only unquestioned unity of the entire German nation can ward off grave future dangers, the results can not be foreseen.
>
> The maintenance of the order hitherto preserved by voluntary self-control in this critical time, is an absolute demand that every popular government must make.
>
> Let every citizen, therefore, be conscious of the high responsibility owed by him to his nation in the fulfillment of this duty.

On the following day an ordinance was issued (*Official Gazette*, November 9) regulating economic demobilization, the employment of soldiers, and the change of industries from a war to a peace basis.

The establishment of a moderate Government was attempted, but finally the demands of the extreme Socialist groups were met and places in the Government assigned to members of this group. Actual fighting occurred in Berlin and in other cities.

On November 9 the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Max, issued the following statement, published in the *Official Gazette* of that date:

> The Emperor and King has decided to renounce the throne.
>
> The Imperial Chancellor remains in office until the questions arising out of the abdication of the Emperor, the renunciation of the throne by the Crown Prince of the German Empire and Prussia, and the establishment of a regency have been settled.
>
> The Imperial Chancellor intends to propose to the Regent the appointment of Deputy Ebert as Imperial Chancellor, and the enactment of a law for the immediate holding of general elections for a German national constitutional convention, charged with the duty of determining finally the future state form of the German people, including such peoples as may desire admission into the Empire.

This statement was heralded as an abdication of the Kaiser. Under German constitutional law, it was without any legal effect. It was a mere declaration of an intention on the part of the Kaiser, and a declaration made, not by himself, but by a third person. The Constitution of the German Empire merely provides that the presidency of the Empire is vested in the King of Prussia. All questions relating to succession and abdication are determined by Prussian constitutional law and by the Royal House laws. Neither of these contains any provision in regard to abdication, but it is conceded by all authorities that the right to abdicate exists. The right is, however, a non-delegable, highly personal right, and is limited in its exercise to the right of the incumbent to renounce his own rights. The abdication must be absolute and unconditional, and there is no right either to renounce in favor of a particular person or in any way to affect the right of the legal successor to the throne. Upon the abdication of the king, the person next in line of succession becomes King of Prussia.

The real abdication of the Kaiser is contained in the in-

*The *Official Gazette* changed its official title with the number dated November 12. It is now called "Imperial Gazette and Prussian State Gazette," instead of "Imperial Gazette and Royal Prussian State Gazette." No issue appeared on November 11.

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strument dated November 28 (*Official Gazette,* November 30, non-official part).

> I hereby renounce for all time the rights to the Crown of Prussia and the rights to the German Imperial Crown connected therewith.
>
> At the same time I absolve all officials of the German Empire and of Prussia, as well as all commissioned and non-commissioned officers and men of the navy, of the Prussian army, and of the troops belonging to Federal contingents, from the oath of allegiance given me as their emperor, king, and commander-in-chief. I expect of them that, until the reconstitution of the German Empire, they will assist the persons exercising *de facto* the powers of government in protecting the German people against the imminent dangers of anarchy, famine, and foreign domination.
>
> Witness our own signature and Imperial seal hereto affixed.
>
> Dated, Amerongen, November 28th, 1918. WILHELM.

The abdication of November 28 is absolute and unconditional, as is also the renunciation by the Crown Prince, Frederick William, dated December 1. The legal effect under the German constitutional law of the old régime is to vest the right to the Prussian throne, and with it to the Imperial throne, in the eldest son of Frederick William.

On November 9 Herr Ebert became Imperial Chancellor, and on the same day he issued the following manifesto (*Official Gazette,* November 12):

> The new Government has taken over the administration of affairs in order to preserve the German people from civil war and famine, and to enable it to realize its just claims to self-determination. This task the Government can fulfil only if all officials in the cities and in the rural districts will lend it a helping hand.
>
> I know that it will be difficult for many to work together with the officials who have undertaken to administer the Empire, but I appeal to their love for our people. If the organization should fail in this hour of need, Germany will sink into anarchy and untold misery.
>
> Therefore, assist me in laboring for the Fatherland by continuing to work fearlessly and unweariedly, each man at his post until the hour of relief shall come.

On the afternoon of Sunday, November 10, the first meeting of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council was held in the Circus Busch at Berlin. Meetings had been held in the forenoon in the barracks and hospitals and in various industrial establishments. Herr Barth was elected chairman and Lieutenant Walz vice-chairman of the meeting, and Müller and Molkenbuhr were designated as secretaries. Deputy Ebert announced that an agreement had been reached between the Social Democrats and the Independents. Addresses were made by Haase, Liebknecht, Captain von Beerfelde, and Müller. The election of the executive committee resulted as follows: for the Independent Socialists, Barth, Müller, Eckhardt, Wegmann, Neuendorf, and Ledebour; for the Social Democrats, Heller, Gühlich, Rusch, Bügel, Hiob, and Mainz; for the Soldiers, Molkenbuhr, von Beerfelde, Gerhardt, Hertel, Lempert, Haase, Baltz, Bathusch, Bergmann, Köhler, Echtmann, and Wimpel.

The following manifesto on behalf of the Council (*Official Gazette,* November 12, non-official part) was adopted and published:

> The old Germany is no more. The German people realizes that for years it has been surrounded by falsehood and deceit. The much-vaunted militarism that was recommended as an example to the entire world has collapsed. The revolution began its triumphant march in Kiel and has victoriously asserted itself. The royal dynasties have forfeited their right to exist. The crowned heads have been divested of power. Germany has become a republic, a socialistic republic. The doors of the prisons have opened to free those who had been convicted, or who were under arrest for political and military offences. The workmen's and soldiers' councils are now the bearers of political sovereignty. In garrisons where no workmen's and soldiers' councils exist, the formation of such councils will proceed rapidly. In the rural districts peasants' councils will be formed for the same purpose.
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> The first task of the provisional Government, which is also confirmed by the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council of Berlin, is to conclude an armistice in order to end the bloody massacre. Immediate peace is the watchword of the revolution. Whatever that peace may be, it will be better than a prolongation of the atrocious butchery.
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> In view of the social structure of Germany and the degree of development of its economic and political organization, a rapid and consistent socialization of the capitalistic means of production can be accomplished without serious disruption. This is necessary in order that a new economic structure may arise out of the blood-soaked ruins, and to avert the economic enslavement of the masses and the destruction of civilization.
>
> All those who labor with their heads or with their hands, and who are permeated with this ideal and honestly desire to assist in its realization, are called upon to help. The Workmen's and Soldiers' Council is fully convinced that a revolution for the accomplishment of the same ends is in process of formation in the entire world. The Council confidently expects that the proletariat in other countries will set in motion all its powers to prevent a violation of the German people at the termination of the war.
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> The Council regards with admiration the Russian workmen and soldiers who have progressed along the ways of revolution, and is proud that the German workmen and soldiers have followed them and have thereby maintained their old fame of being fighters in the front ranks of the International.
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> The Council sends brotherly greetings to the Russian workmen's and soldiers' union. The Council resolves that the German republican Government shall immediately take up international relations with the Russian Government, and expects the carrying out of this policy in Berlin. By the awful war, which has lasted over four years, Germany has been devastated in a most terrible manner. Material and moral values that can never be replaced have been destroyed. It is a gigantic task to bring forth new life out of these devastations and ruins. The Workmen's and Soldiers' Council is conscious of the fact that the revolutionary power cannot by a single stroke make good the crimes and errors of the old régime and of the propertied classes, and that it cannot immediately place the masses in a brilliant position, but this revolutionary power is the only one that can still save what is left. A socialistic republic alone is in the position to make use of the power of international Socialism to bring about a durable democratic peace.
>
> Long Life to the German Socialistic Republic!

On the same day a proclamation "to the German rural population," signed by the Council of People's Commissioners—Ebert, Haase, Landsberg, Scheidemann, Barth, and Dittmann—was issued (*Official Gazette,* November 12).

> The new German Imperial Government hereby calls upon all sections of the rural population, without distinction of party, to act in common, and voluntarily to form Peasants' Councils, in order to render secure the food supply of the people, to preserve peace and order in the country, and to permit of an unimpeded prosecution of the agricultural industry.
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> The Imperial Government desires to limit the action of the state in assuring the food supply for the people to the most necessary limits, recognizing that voluntary action and local administration will accomplish these purposes more quickly and better than the best bureaucratic organization. The more the rural population contributes, by voluntary self-created local and communal committees, to provide for a quick and continuous supply of foodstuffs necessary for the maintenance of the people, the less will it be necessary to resort to forcible measures. The rural population, therefore, has it in its power to limit such interference to the least possible amount.
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> The rural population may rest assured that the Imperial Government will protect it in the most energetic manner against arbitrary acts of unauthorized persons in dealing with the relations of property and production. If persons are not driven from the city to the country by famine, and the masses of soldiers streaming back from the front can be provided for in the proper manner, such measures of protection will not be necessary. Therefore, the voluntary delivery of the necessary foodstuffs is the surest protection against disturbances of peace and order in the rural districts, and guarantees in the best manner the undisturbed prosecution of rural industry. It is hoped that the rural population will be conscious of this fact, and will do everything in its power to protect the German people against

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perishing from hunger in this serious crisis. No one will demand from it anything unreasonable, nor make it responsible if difficulties of transportation or other circumstances cause a disturbance in providing for the inhabitants; but in its own interest and in the interest of all of the people the rural population must, without delay, proceed to the voluntary organization of peasants' councils.

Happily, the organizations of German agricultural interests have already made such a proposal to the agricultural bodies of Germany, and have reached an agreement upon this point with the new Imperial Government.

It is necessary now to act promptly, to do away with every passive resistance, and by coöperation between the peasants' councils in the rural districts on the one hand and the War Food Board and the workmen's and soldiers' councils in the cities on the other, to avoid the dangers that an acute famine would be bound to bring down on the individual and on the entire community.

Peasants, agricultural laborers, artisans, and industrial workers in the country, form peasants' councils immediately!

On November 11 the chief Government officials had been temporarily empowered by Ebert and Haase, in the name of the Imperial Government, to continue their functions. On the following day a manifesto, addressed "To the Inhabitants and Soldiers of Greater Berlin," was issued (*Official Gazette*, November 12).

The Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, elected by the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils of Greater Berlin, has assumed its duties.

All communal, State, Imperial, and military officials continue to exercise their functions. All orders of these officials are made under authority of the Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council. All persons must obey the orders of these officials.

All bodies provisionally organized within Greater Berlin since the beginning of the revolution, including such as bear the name "Workmen's and Soldiers' Council," and which have carried out certain administrative measures, cease operation immediately.

All further orders and decrees will be made immediately by the proper civil and military authorities.

All proclamations and orders of the Executive Committee will be signed by the two chairmen, Richard Müller and von Beerfelde.

The Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council.

Emil Barth, von Beerfelde, Bergmann, Felix Bernhagen, Otto Braun, Franz Buchel, Cohen, Erich Däumig, Heinrich Denecke, Paul Eckert, Chr. K. Finzel, Gelberg, Gustav Gerhardt, Giorth, Gustav Heller, Ernst Jülich, Georg Ledebour, Maynitz, Brutus Molkenbuhr, Richard Müller, Paul Neuendorf, Hans Paasche, Walter Portner, Colin Ross, Oskar Rusch, Otto Strobel, Waltz, P. Wegmann.

On November 11 a proclamation was also issued (*Official Gazette*, November 12) directing that the furnishing of foodstuffs to Greater Berlin be not interfered with, and placing "under the protection of the public" the stocks of food, the distribution of food cards, and all public utilities and means of transportation.

One of the most important acts of the provisional Government is a proclamation "to the German people," also issued on November 12 (*Official Gazette*, November 13) over the signatures of Ebert, Haase, Scheidemann, Landsberg, Dittmann, and Barth.

The Government that has come forth out of the revolution, and which is politically under purely socialistic control, has set for itself the task of carrying out the socialistic programme. The Government proclaims with the force of law the following:

1. The state of siege is terminated.
2. The right of association and assembly is subject to no limitation, not even for officials or employees of the state.
3. There is no censorship. The censorship of the theatre is terminated.
4. The expression of opinion in word and writing is free.
5. The freedom of the exercise of religion is guaranteed. No one may be forced to perform any religious act.
6. Amnesty is granted for all political offences. Proceedings now pending in reference to such offences are dismissed.
7. The law regarding national service is abrogated, with the exception of the provisions relating to settlement of disputes.
8. The regulations regarding laborers, as well as all exceptional laws directed against agricultural labor, are abrogated.
9. The provisions relating to the protection of laborers which were abrogated at the beginning of the war are hereby again declared operative.

Further social-political ordinances will be published within a short period of time. A maximum eight hour labor day will be declared in force on January 1, 1919, at the latest.

The Government will do everything to provide for sufficient opportunity for work. An ordinance regarding the assistance of the unemployed has been prepared. This ordinance distributes the burdens on the Empire, the State, and the commune.

In the matter of insurance against sickness, the obligation to insure will be extended beyond the present limit of M. 2500.

The need for dwelling houses will be met by placing dwellings at the disposal of those needing them.

Efforts will be directed toward securing a regulated food supply for the people.

The Government will support regulated production and protect property against attacks by private individuals, as well as the liberty and security of the person.

All elections to public bodies shall henceforth take place on the basis of equal, secret, direct, and universal suffrage, under application of the system of proportional voting, for all persons over twenty years of age, whether male or female.

This law regarding suffrage applies also to the constituent assembly, regarding which further regulations will be issued.

By a proclamation of the same date (*Official Gazette*, November 13) an Imperial Bureau for Economic Demobilization was established, the proclamation being in the following terms:

The seizures of raw materials heretofore made must, for the present, remain in force. New seizures by Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils may not take place. . . . In the agricultural industry all possessors of estates are bound and are willing to take back their former laborers, male and female, and other employees; the same applies to business undertakings, industries, and work shops, in so far as raw materials and operating materials are available. Where it is impossible to take up the former work, the demobilization officials will render assistance by emergency work.

Whoever is willing to work will receive employment and wages affording subsistence. The state will provide for all persons unable to find employment; the necessary pecuniary means will be available. Provision for the unemployed is assured.

On the following day the Imperial Bureau for Economic Demobilization issued a decree allowing twenty per cent. of all copper, aluminum, nickel, antimony, lead, zinc, chrome, platinum, and metals used in steel-hardening processes, seized by the Government, to be used for peace purposes. At the same time, a decree was issued declaring certain vehicles to be exportable without Government license (*Official Gazette*, November 14). The interference with the operation of the transportation system and the distribution of food and coal is the subject of several manifestos issued on November 10, 11, and 13. Restrictions placed on German owners of goods warehoused in foreign countries are continued in force by a proclamation of November 13 (*Official Gazette*, November 12-14).

On November 15 the censorship of postal and telegraphic communications was lightened by the following ordinance (*Official Gazette*, November 16), signed by Ebert and Haase:

The Imperial Government decrees with the force of law the following:

Section 1. The censorship of postal and telegraphic communications with foreign countries will be maintained hereafter in so far as the supervision is necessary in the interest of taxation or on economic grounds. The censorship may not be extended to include military or political matters.

Section 2. The censorship bureaus heretofore established remain in operation in order to carry out the purposes set forth in Section 1, sentence 1, and are placed under the control of the Imperial Ministry of Finance.

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A radical change in the military administration was made by a decree of November 15 (*Official Gazette*, November 16).

> In order to secure a unified control over demobilization, a change in the relations of the military commands is necessary. The Acting General Commands, the General Staff, and the Supreme Military Administration are hereafter placed under the control of the Ministry for War. All military bureaus must comply with the orders of the Ministry. The Ministry for War as well as all Imperial bureaus are under the control of the Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council.

In order to reassure the people in regard to the future action of the Government, the following proclamation, signed by Ebert and Haase, was issued under date of November 15 (*Official Gazette*, November 16):

> In order to refute the rumors that are in circulation, the Imperial Government makes the following declaration:
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> 1. We do not intend to seize deposits in banks or savings banks, or moneys, bank notes, or securities on hand, or any open or sealed deposits.
> 2. We do not intend to declare the subscriptions to the Ninth War Loan or to any war loan to be invalid or to affect the legal validity thereof. The Government, however, contemplates rigorously calling upon the possessors of large fortunes and income to cover governmental expenditures.
> 3. The claims for salaries, pensions, and other claims in favor of public officials and employees and of the officers and other persons belonging to the military class, of persons incapacitated by war and the dependents of such persons, remain absolutely unaffected and continue in force.

The Chief of Police also published a proclamation in the *Official Gazette* of November 16, assuring the people that the laws remain in force and that the people should not allow themselves to be intimidated, as no one is entitled to attack private property. "All such violations will be punished in the most severe manner by the courts; extortion and looting will be prevented if necessary by immediate shooting of the offender."

On November 21 the Imperial Bureau for Economic Demobilization issued, over the signature of Koeth, the following decree (*Official Gazette*, November 22):

> Unproductive labor on war orders must cease. Industries must immediately be changed over for the manufacture of peace materials. For this purpose, all State and communal authorities, public corporations, etc., shall immediately give their peace orders. Orders for public emergency work will be given. If sufficient orders are not on hand, peace work is to be manufactured for future disposal. Public authorities shall not make any further demands for the manufacture of war materials under existing contracts. For the purpose of satisfying at the earliest possible moment the peace needs of the country, the owners of industrial establishments must not insist on the right to deliver war materials to be manufactured hereafter. All peace orders are to have the preference unconditionally over current war orders. Dismissal of employees may take place only if provision has been made for work in other places. Unemployment is to be avoided under all circumstances.
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> If, in exceptional cases, the goal—peace work without unemployment—cannot be attained, war work may be provisionally continued as emergency work. In estimating compensation, it is fundamental that no profits can be allowed on such work, because of its character as emergency work.
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> Under authority of the decree of the Council of People's Commissioners, dated November 12, 1918, relating to the establishment of an Imperial Bureau for Economic Demobilization (Demobilization Bureau) it is hereby decreed:
>
> 1. In so far as, under exceptional circumstances, war work must be continued after November 10, 1918, the public authorities having control of such work shall fix new prices for a continuance of work on war materials, taking into consideration its character as emergency work.
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> From the decision fixing the price an appeal lies in favor of the contractor or subcontractor to the commissioner for demobilization of the district, and must be brought within four weeks after notification of the decision. The commissioner for demobilization, after hearing the public authorities and the appellant, shall finally fix the price, with the proviso that after compensation for the entire cost of production no profit shall be allowed, and that under no circumstances may the contract price be exceeded in whole or in part.
>
> 2. The contractors and subcontractors have no right of action against a person giving the orders for any loss of profits on war contracts not carried out.
> 3. The foregoing provisions do not preclude an agreement concerning the immediate termination of the contracts, or of parts thereof, entered into between the public authorities and the contractor or subcontractor, and providing in appropriate cases for the taking over of unfinished products.
> 4. In cases of doubt regarding the application of this ordinance in a particular case, the Demobilization Bureau shall decide on petition of any one of the parties.
> 5. The State central authorities, or the persons designated by them, shall designate the officials who are to assist the commissioners for demobilization in carrying out the duties set forth in Section 1. The proceedings before the commissioner for demobilization are free of costs; the commissioner for demobilization decides as regards cash expenditures.
> 6. The ordinary jurisdiction of courts is excluded in controversies arising under this ordinance.

An ordinance of November 14 empowered the Bundesrat to continue to exercise its administrative functions, and on the following day a further ordinance continued in force the law insuring the payment of war taxes (*Official Gazette*, November 16).

The Mexican Oil Situation

By J. P. CHAMBERLAIN

THE legal facts regarding the oil situation in Mexico should be clearly understood by the American people if the true meaning of the rather vague newspaper accounts of the dispute between the Mexican Government and foreign oil producers is to be grasped. The dispute is not a local question which can be settled by the Mexican authorities alone. Already protests have been made by the American, British, French, and Dutch Governments against legislation proposed by Mexico, on the ground that it is confiscatory of the property of their citizens; while the need during the war of a great supply of gasolene and fuel oil for military and naval purposes has emphasized the importance of keeping up operation and shipment from the Mexican fields. Foreign interests, though frequently in the form of Mexican corporations, control almost the whole of the known Mexican oil fields and transport and refine their output, so that practically any action taken by the Mexican Government will chiefly affect not Mexicans but foreigners.

The oil industry in Mexico has been developed by foreigners, principally Americans, since 1901, though the presence of asphalt and oil was known in Mexico even before the Spanish occupation. The value of the Mexican fields, however, was not proved until the exploration work of two Americans, Messrs. Doheny and Canfield, was crowned with success in 1901. Since then the development has been very rapid and the promise for the future is brilliant. The total output has risen from 10,345 barrels in 1901 to 55,292,770 in 1917, with an estimated possible production of 250,000,000 barrels a year, or nearly one-half of the total world production in 1917. The oil is nearly all exported, and consumed on foreign ships or engines or in foreign automobiles. In July, 1918, for example, 3,435,545 barrels were shipped to the United States, and 1,309,290 barrels to other points abroad. The Mexican Government is now re-

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ceiving a share of the profits. President Carranza estimates the prospective income for the next fiscal year from petroleum lands at 19,000,000 pesos, or about $9,500,000, so that the revenue-producing possibilities, if the industry continues its rapid development, are evident. The total income from mining taxes was estimated at 14,800,000 pesos, appreciably less than that from petroleum.

The tendency has been for the ownership and handling of the oil to be concentrated in the hands of foreign interests which own the refineries, the pipe lines, and the tank ships. The principal organizations are the Mexican Petroleum (Doheny interests), the Waters-Pierce (Standard Oil), the Pan-Mexican Fuel Oil (Standard Oil), the East Coast Oil (Southern Pacific), the Corona Oil (Dutch Shell), and the Mexican Eagle (Pearson English interests). The amount invested is already very large. A recent estimate puts the British and American capital invested in this business at $300,000,000, of which $200,000,000 is American.

The legal history of the ownership of oil in Mexico begins with the Spanish period. All grants of land were made by authority of the king, but they did not include minerals underlying the surface, which were granted separately on condition of exploitation and the payment of an annual production tax. The law was based on the principle that the right to develop the natural wealth of the subsoil should be granted only to persons who would utilize it, and on the condition that it be utilized, so that the industry might be developed and the royal treasury enriched by a share of the proceeds. If the concessionaire did not fulfill the conditions of his grant, the property reverted to the crown. In 1783 the mining edicts were combined into a code. On achieving independence, the Mexican nation succeeded to the ownership of minerals as well as to the other rights of the Spanish crown, and the old system of granting mining concessions was followed. In the Constitution of 1857, mining legislation was left to the States, but a constitutional amendment in 1883 transferred that right to the Federal Congress, and in 1884 the President, acting on a general authorization of the Congress, issued a decree containing a federal mining code.

The code changed the policy of the law in regard to certain products of the subsoil, among which were coal and petroleum, by expressly declaring them to be the property of the owner of the surface. Since 1783 there had been conflicting opinions as to whether coal, at least, was the property of the owner of the surface or of the State, and the draftsman of 1884 decided in favor of the land owner. There was no declaration of national ownership of the other minerals, but as they could be acquired only through concession from the Government on conditions laid down by the Government, they were practically part of the public domain. This division of minerals was the result of the deliberate action of the executive commission which drafted the decree, contrary to the judgment of many Mexican authorities.

The division of the subsoil products was reaffirmed in an act of Congress of 1892, which introduced another important change in the mining law by making the grant of publicly-owned minerals perpetual, dependent only on the payment of taxes. Even in regard to these minerals, therefore, the principle of the Spanish law that a mine must be continuously worked was given up, and the necessity of paying a tax was depended upon to insure operation. The latest mining code, that of 1909, adopted by Congress since the great expansion of the petroleum industry, follows the preceding act in these respects. It expressly states that minerals in general are the property of the nation, but that certain products, including mineral combustibles and bituminous substances, are "the exclusive property of the owner of the soil." In the debate over the code in Congress, it was said that the legislature could not change the conditions of the substances which the code of 1884 had declared to be private property, and thus placed under the protection of the Constitution. The Mexican law-making power, in other words, has repeatedly recognized the proprietor of the surface as the owner of the petroleum, and the Mexican Government has permitted, indeed encouraged, the investment of large sums of money in the purchase of oil-bearing lands, or of leases of the right to pump oil, depending on the existing statutes, and in the erection of refineries and other plants to utilize the property so acquired.

Article 27 of the new Constitution profoundly changed this legal situation. Petroleum was expressly included among the mineral resources of the nation which are inalienable, but which may be exploited by individuals under concession on condition of regular development. The Constitutional Convention returned in general to the Spanish theory of mining ownership. Concessions can be granted only to Mexican citizens, to Mexican corporations, or to foreigners who agree to be considered as Mexicans in regard to such property and not to invoke the protection of their Governments in respect of it; furthermore, Mexican citizens are to be preferred in grants of concessions. Foreign corporations cannot acquire ownership in concessions, consequently foreign corporations cannot continue in the industry in Mexico. Mexican corporations owning oil lands suffer a further limitation. Article 27 allows them to hold only as much land as "is absolutely necessary for their purpose," the amount to be fixed by the Executive; so that a corporation loses not only the oil underlying the land which it owned, but in addition the land itself, unless it obtains a concession to utilize the petroleum, when it may keep the amount of land necessary for its purposes. This provision of Article 27 has not as yet been put into effect.

Realizing the finality of constitutional provisions, save as changed by regularly adopted amendments, those who believe that the petroleum should remain in private ownership attempt to construe the Constitution to meet their opinion. It is argued that Article 27, so far as it deprives the owners of the soil of their petroleum rights, is nullified by other rules laid down in the same instrument. Article 14 provides that no law shall be given a retroactive effect, and Article 27 itself stipulates that private property shall not be taken except for public purposes and upon indemnification. Article 14 undoubtedly prohibits retroactive legislation by Congress, but it cannot limit the power of the Constitutional Convention, nor has one section of the Constitution more authority than another. If Article 14 can be said to limit Article 27, Article 27 can equally limit the application of Article 14. The meaning of the Constitution is the only question at issue. The only value of Article 14, as applied to Article 27, is that it lays down a general principle which would help in its interpretation if its meaning be doubtful; but there can be no doubt of the meaning of the language used in Article 27. As practically all the known oil-bearing lands are privately owned, Article 27, if it is to have any extended application, must apply to lands held in private ownership; so to admit the argument drawn from Article 14 would be practically to nullify Article 27, in enacting which the Conven-

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tion evidently did not intend "a vain thing." Señor Pastor Rouaix, now a member of the Mexican Cabinet, the draftsman of the article, which was adopted practically without amendment, authoritatively states that the national ownership of all petroleum was intended whether or not it underlay lands privately owned. The Mexican Government, also, composed of men intimately acquainted with the intent of the Convention and headed by President Carranza, its master spirit, has acted on the same theory in its subsequent decrees. The words of the article, and its contemporary interpretation by the Government and by its draftsman, are too clear to permit the general rule laid down in Article 14 to be resorted to for aid in its interpretation, even if Article 14 applies to the Constitution at all. It is equally evident that the limitation on the right to take property except for a public use and on payment of compensation does not apply to such taking by the Constitution itself.

The former operators were allowed to continue work under the new Constitution. Taxes were laid on their product, but their possession was not threatened until the President, acting under the general power in regard to finance granted by Congress, issued the decree of February 19, 1918. This decree fixed a royalty of five per cent. on output, a tax of five pesos ($2.50) a hectare (2½ acres) on all oil lands, and a steeply-graduated tax on the rent paid under oil leases running up to fifty per cent. of the royalty. The intention to maintain the ownership of the nation, resulting from Article 27, was evidenced by a section requiring owners or lessees who desired to operate the land held by them to file a statement within three months, and by providing that at the expiration of that period all lands not so registered would be open to claim. Only leases executed prior to May 1, 1917, were recognized. This decree gave a privilege to the holders of oil lands or oil leases, an exclusive prior right for three months to file claims on the oil lands previously held, plainly foreshadowing the grant of a concession. It apparently recognizes their moral right to consideration, and also the economic advantage to the state and to the laborers in the oil fields of a steady continuation of production.

This decree caused great commotion among the oil operators, who affirmed that it showed an intention to take away their property. If, however, Article 27 is to be given the effect which we believe it has, it had already appropriated the oil rights, so there was nothing left for the decree to confiscate.

The United States, in a note dated April 2, 1918, protested against the decree as an interference with the rights of operators who were American citizens. It also objected to the tax imposed "as indicating a trend" towards confiscation, and criticised other objectionable features in the system of collecting the royalty. England, France, and Holland have also entered protests on behalf of their nationals.

The Mexican Government could not be shaken from its legal position; but it showed its unwillingness to take action by extending the period for registration to July 31, this being done through the decree of May 18, issued on the day before the expiration of the three months' period of the decree of February 19. On July 31, again, after a conference with representatives of foreign interests, the period was extended through August 15. On August 8 a new decree was issued, requiring the owner or lessee who had registered his property to file a claim for a concession within three months (the lessee within two months) after August 15, or his prior right would lapse. A foreign corporation could transfer its right to a Mexican corporation, and a foreign individual must relinquish the protection of his Government in respect of the concession. Tracts of land of over four hectares (ten acres), which was declared to be the size of a petroleum claim, could, if they had been registered before August 15, be patented only if wells were already in operation or were being drilled.

The legal and economic position resulting from these decrees was unsatisfactory to the foreign operators, who refused to register their lands. The Government again did not join issue. A decree of August 12, only four days before the expiration of the preferential right of the owners and lessees, provided that no surveyed oil property in which capital had been invested should be open to claim, but that the owner or lessee might operate the property until the "special contracts" were prepared under which he was to be allowed to operate in the future. He must, however, pay the land tax and the five per cent. royalty on output.

The Mexican Government, without abandoning its position that the nation is the owner of the oil, which it emphatically defends in a statement dated August 25, has impliedly admitted that the operators should in justice be given concessions for the operation of the petroleum underlying land owned or leased by them, and which they had begun to develop. The rights arising from the concession, however, would be very different from those of an owner. The concessionaire cannot speculate on his oil for higher prices by holding it unused; he must submit to regulations, and, until the bases of the "special contracts" are made public, he will not know the limitations on his privilege or the rapidity with which he must develop the property conceded.

The Carranza Government, on November 23, introduced a bill into Congress dealing with the oil situation. The bill is based on Article 27 of the Constitution. Owners are given consideration in the provisions that lands in which capital was invested before May 1, 1917, for the exploitation of petroleum, shall not be subject to denunciation, and granting to the owner or lessee three months in which to justify his rights. These properties, however, must pay the land taxes and taxes on production. Leases are continued during the term fixed in each lease, subject to the 50 per cent. tax on the royalty paid under the lease; then the lessee may secure the oil rights on application within three months. The owner of lands, or lessees on leases made before May 1, 1917, who have not put capital into their land, are to have a preference for one year if they justify their right within three months.

The problem of the taxation of the oil fields is apart from the far more serious question of their ownership. Originally there was no taxation upon oil; indeed, following the policy of the Diaz Government in encouraging development of the natural wealth of the country, petroleum was included with certain other mineral products in an exemption from all Federal, local, and municipal taxes by the law of June 6, 1887.

Under the revolution, however, a light tax was laid upon petroleum, which subsequently developed into a tax of ten per cent. ad valorem, the value to be fixed every two months by the Mexican finance authorities, not on the basis of the price at Tampico, but on the basis of the price in the United States, whither most of the product was shipped. The tax is in effect an export tax, and is defended as an economic measure by the Mexican Government on the ground that Mexico was being deprived of the advantage of its petroleum deposits, since the developing companies were interested in

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the large foreign market and paid little attention to the smaller Mexican needs. Consequently, this tax was used as an economic, as well as a fiscal, measure to make it worth while to the oil companies to develop the Mexican market. The tax is fixed every two months and is in addition to the royalty and the land tax provided in the decrees cited. It is also in addition to a land tax on mining claims.

The right of foreign Governments to protest against the confiscation of the property of their citizens is unaffected by the method adopted for the confiscation. The remedy, however, is limited by the legal situation. Since only by a constitutional amendment can the property rights affected be restored, the only remedies open are compensation, or the granting of concessions to oil-land owners or lessees, satisfactory, not necessarily to them, but to their Governments; for if the Governments require their citizens to accept an agreed settlement on condition of a withdrawal of support, the dispute will be over.

Compensation will be an unsatisfactory remedy. The operators have taken the risk and developed the industry in the expectation of profit from a growing business; they have invested in ships, refineries, and pipe lines; they have established trade connections and agencies which market their products; and no compensation which would be awarded would cover their prospective loss. Furthermore, if the basis of settlement is to be payment for the value of the oil properties, Mexico will face an indemnity which, in its present impoverished condition, it could scarcely meet, especially as the revenue from the oil fields would be temporarily, at least, cut down, if not altogether stopped, should the present owners cease work. It would probably be difficult for Mexico to induce new capital to enter the fields except on terms very unfavorable to the Government. Neither side would gain by extreme measures, and the increasingly conciliatory attitude of the Mexican Government, if met on the part of the operators and their Governments by realization of the practical impossibility of an amendment of the Constitution, makes it probable that satisfactory contracts of concession can be agreed to.

The tax question is not of equal importance. Whether the operators are taxed as owners, lessees, or concessionaires makes little difference; the Government, by changing the form of its royalty to a license tax, can compel them to pay the same amount of money, and it will not be seriously contended that the legislature, in 1887, in freeing "mines of petroleum" from taxation, bound the hands of subsequent legislatures. If a future Mexican Government attempts to confiscate property rights of foreigners by taxation or in any other way, the right of protest of their Governments will be the same whether the rights arose from concessions or from land ownership.

The Mexican oil question is evidently one for reasonable solution. The desire of the Government to raise revenue from so flourishing an industry is not unjust, provided that the taxes are fair; and the adjustment of taxes so that there will be an inducement to refine the oil in the country, and sell it or its products at home instead of exporting them, will not encounter objection in a country which, like the United States, is still committed to the principle of the protective tariff. The more thorny dispute over ownership can be settled by fair concessions which shall recognize, on the one hand, the Mexican desire to secure the orderly utilization of its national resources, and, on the other, the rights of the operators who have made investments in the country.

Lord Robert Cecil on World Peace

THE following is the larger portion of an address delivered by Lord Robert Cecil on November 12, on the occasion of his installation as Chancellor of Birmingham University. The introductory portion, which is omitted here, dealt in general with the war and the losses which it had occasioned. The address is reprinted from the London *Times* of November 13.

In the face of a catastrophe like this, it is right that men should ask whether nothing can be done to prevent its recurrence. Some demand the destruction of Germany and the predominance of her present enemies. That the realization by the Central Powers of their defeat is an essential condition of any future settlement is true enough. But it is more than questionable whether permanent peace can be established on the basis of the world domination of the Entente or any other group of Powers. To such a settlement I do not believe that the peoples of the world will ever be brought to submit for any length of time, and I must add that, in my heart, I do not wish that they should do so. World domination is, after all, only another word for international despotism, and however benevolent such a despotism might be, it must be inconsistent with that liberty without which all other political advantages are insipid and not infrequently degrading.

If, then, we reject the idea of a peace imposed on the world by some powerful alliance, there remains no other method by which peace can be safeguarded except some general agreement, or association, or league of nations. With this proposal almost every one expresses a general sympathy, and makes it the theme of more or less sincere perorations. But in their hearts there are many who are convinced that the whole thing is just a dream born of war-weariness and sentiment. To such men the old system of the balance of power and groups of allied nations watching one another with steadily increasing armaments, reinforced by secret treaties of insurance and reinsurance, is all that can be hoped for. Unless they are mad, they recognize that this means the recurrence from time to time of devastating wars. But I suppose they hope that, with our historical good fortune, we shall always be on the winning side. It is surely enough to point out to those who hold this view that, even assuming future wars were no worse than this one, it is doubtful whether European civilization could be relied on to withstand a repetition of the last four years. Revolution and anarchy have already overwhelmed Russia, and threaten to engulf Austria, and perhaps Germany. Moreover, terrible as this war has been, the next one would be far more terrible.

If, therefore, the league of nations is a dream, it is difficult to avoid despair. And yet it would be folly to ignore the strength of the case of those who doubt whether such an organization can ever materialize. They can point with undeniable force to previous history. They can quote, for instance, the state papers and proclamations of Alexander I. of Russia in the closing stages of the Napoleonic wars, which could, with scarcely any alteration, be printed in a leading article to-day, and they can add that the only outcome of these admirable sentiments was the creation of the Holy Alliance. For myself, I am not prepared to say that a holy alliance of democracies would really make for the peace of the world. The main defect of the Holy Alliance as an instrument of peace was not so much that it favored autocratic forms of government, objectionable as that was on other grounds, as that by its nature it became restricted to a certain group of nations. We must build on surer foundations than that if we are to hope to establish a better international order. Our new society of nations must not be a group, however large and important. It is absolutely essential

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that the league of nations should be open to every nation which can be trusted by its fellows to accept *ex animo* the principles and basis of such a society. I would even go so far as to say that such a society will be incomplete and proportionately ineffective unless every civilized nation joins it. Indeed, it is a matter for consideration whether those who will not join willingly should not be compelled to do so by economic or other pressure.

It may well be asked what hope is there that such a society can be formed? Heaven knows I do not underrate the difficulties in our way, but there seem to be some favorable conditions. The overwhelming horrors of the present war, and the appalling dangers to civilization itself of any recurrence thereof, must exercise a powerful centripetal effect on the nations of the world. Then there is the growing acceptance of the doctrine that, however admirable may be the sentiment of nationality, yet underlying it is a common humanity which has, in some respects, a paramount claim on the loyalty of us all. The movements towards religious reunion on one side and international labor organizations on the other are evidence of the strength of this sentiment. Even Bolshevism, before it degenerated into the bloody and ignoble tyranny of a few adventurers, may be cited on the same side.

Finally, we have a right to place some confidence in the increasing recognition of the truth that all civilized states are parts of one economic whole. We have seen that under the stress of war the Entente nations have been forced to create an elaborate inter-allied economic organization. Granted a well-ordered and vigorous organization of this kind, especially if it were joined by other nations besides those which are concerned in it at present, it might be used to compel all nations to become members of the proposed league. It would facilitate the economic coercion of a country bent on aggression, and by promoting international coöperation instead of competition might tend to remove some of the chief causes of international strife. Since, therefore, nations have shown a tendency to combine for other purposes, it does not seem hopeless that they should form an association to promote the greatest of all earthly blessings—namely, peace.

It is when the nature and structure of such an association has to be set forth that the great opportunity for destructive criticism arises. We are seeking, indeed, to substitute something like the reign of law for that of brute force, and it is obvious that the reign of law presupposes, in the first place, a lawgiver to enact laws, and, in the second, machinery to enforce them. As to the lawgiver there can be little doubt; the only possible authority for the making of laws to bind nations is an assembly of the nations themselves or their representatives. The fundamental principles which the league of nations is to try to enforce can only be thus laid down. It is the machinery required to enforce these principles that causes the real difficulty.

For the enforcement of laws amongst individuals we rely chiefly on two great agencies. We have courts of law, whose decrees are ultimately executed by physical force, and we have public opinion, which in the end is made effective by moral sanctions. The two agencies are in reality quite distinct. There are many rules enforced, with great severity, by public opinion of which the law knows nothing. Conversely, in certain states of society there are actions which the law condemns, but public opinion condones. In such cases it will generally be found that public opinion is the more powerful agency of the two. Ultimately, no doubt, where the courts are strong and respected, the law will tend first to mold public opinion, and then to replace it. For this result, however, to take place it is essential that the machinery of the law should not only be strong, but it also must have the support of public opinion.

I conclude, therefore, that, in dealing with individuals, public opinion without the law may be very powerful, yet that courts of law, even though backed by overwhelming force, are, unless also supported by public opinion, by no means universally obeyed. In international matters the difficulties in the way of establishing courts of law which would command obedience are enormous. In the present condition of international feeling, it is hard to say how the *personnel* of such courts could be secured. If the judges were drawn from nations now belligerents they would clearly not be universally respected. Even in friendly arbitrations in times of profound peace many have thought that the patriotism of international judges has been more remarkable than their impartiality, and it would be absurd to expect any nation to submit matters of importance to the decision of a tribunal on which would sit men who have recently been its enemies. There remain the neutral nations. I certainly desire to speak with all respect of them, but I must frankly say that I cannot conceive a court constituted of members drawn exclusively from nations now neutral which would be a satisfactory international tribunal.

Nor is that the only, or even the chief, difficulty. The great trouble about the creation of an effective international court has always been to discover a really satisfactory means of enforcing its decrees. Various devices have been proposed, but ultimately they all come down to some form of international armed force. I confess to the gravest doubts whether any such plan is practicable. It involves a very serious inroad on national sovereignty. It seems very doubtful whether any sovereign state would agree that its armies should be put in motion, its blood and treasure poured out, to enforce a decree, perhaps of doubtful justice, and either unimportant to its interests or even opposed to them. It may, however, be said that even if the decrees of such a court were unenforceable, they would still be of value as helping to form public opinion. But a court which can only make unenforceable decrees has no real analogy to a court of law. At the very utmost it cannot be considered as of more value than a tribunal of arbitration, or perhaps even a commission of inquiry.

To decide questions which at present would form occasions of war we require, then, an instrument of far greater authority than any international court can be expected to possess under existing conditions. Such an instrument can, I believe, be found in organized and concentrated international public opinion. Even at the present time the germ of such opinion exists. Moreover, anyone who considers the matter fairly will agree that the part directly played by international public opinion even in this war has been by no means unimportant. When the war began, it was obvious both sides attached great value to the verdict of those not directly involved in the contest, and made considerable exertions to obtain it. As time went on, and the German conduct of the war gradually convinced all impartial observers that civilization could only be safeguarded by a German defeat, the Germans realized more and more the importance of the judgment of mankind. World opinion, therefore, even now may have great influence on international relations. But it is not of much use at present to prevent the outbreak of war, because it may so easily be overridden by rapid military action. All will recollect the steady refusal of the Germanic Powers to face an international conference at the beginning of this war. They were perfectly aware that if they had had to make their case openly before the world at large they would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to induce their own people to sanction hostilities. As things now are, they were able to avoid this difficulty by rushing into war. But suppose that after the receipt of the Serbian reply to the Austrian ultimatum the Central Powers had been compelled to submit the matter to an international conference, and it had been clearly established that the Serbian concessions had left not a shadow of excuse for warlike action. If that had occurred, it seems doubtful whether the Germanic Powers could have declared war. Nor is this a special case. Discussion and delay must always make for peace.

I am convinced, therefore, that the most important step we can now take is to devise machinery which, in case of international dispute, will, at the least, delay the outbreak of war,

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and secure full and open discussion of the causes of quarrel. For that purpose no very elaborate international machinery is required. All that would be necessary would be a treaty binding the signatories never to wage war themselves, nor permit others to wage war, till a formal conference of nations had been held to inquire into, and, if possible, decide on the dispute. It is probably true, at least in theory, that decisions would be difficult to obtain, for the decisions of such a conference, like all other international proceedings, would have to be unanimous to be binding. But since the important thing is to secure delay and open discussion—that is to say, time to enable public opinion to act, and information to instruct it—this is not a serious objection to the proposal. Indeed, from one point of view, it is an advantage, since it avoids any interference with national sovereignty except the interposition of a delay in seeking redress by force of arms. That is the essential thing, and to secure it the treaty would require each of the signatories to use its whole force, economic as well as military, against any nation that forced on war before a conference had been held. To that extent, and to that extent only, international coercion would be necessary.

And here let me say that I attach very great weight to the use in this connection of the economic weapon. For one thing, it will be easier to induce the weaker members of the league to cut off all intercourse with a powerful offender than to take the field against him. If all restrictions on the use of this weapon by the league were swept away, and it were put in force by the whole, or almost the whole, of the countries of the world against one offender, it would mean certain and irretrievable ruin for that country.

It will be observed that in the plan thus outlined nothing has been said about national disarmament. It is, indeed, most true that without disarmament there can be no complete security against future war, and I earnestly wish that some really effective and trustworthy means may be found drastically to limit the armed forces of every state. The problem is a difficult one, and I have so far to admit that, after giving considerable thought to the subject, I have not yet come upon any plan for this purpose which seems safe and practicable. Failing such a plan, we must trust that the nations will gradually disarm, as and when the necessity for national armament disappears. The thing to hope for and to work for is the habit of international goodwill. With this object, besides the big change here proposed, there are many other steps that should be taken. Treaties should be rigidly observed. The signatories of the league should undertake periodical consultations to review obsolescent treaty obligations. The control of backward races should be solved, if possible, by international action, and there is probably a large and increasing field for international activity in dealing with certain social questions and other matters of more than national importance.

I am quite aware that to some people these proposals may seem inadequate. They desire to see a fully equipped international legal system, imitated directly from national institutions. To them I would say: "Consider well the difficulty that lies before you. Remember all the elements of opposition which await you, and then think whether a change which really precluded the possibility of sudden attack, which definitely forced contending nations to submit their quarrels to the opinion and conscience of mankind, would not constitute a great step forward towards the goal which you are striving to reach." To others these proposals may seem visionary. As far as technical questions go, there are good grounds for asserting that they present no serious, and certainly no insuperable, difficulty. I venture to claim that they are free from some of the objections to which other similar schemes are open, and that they constitute a genuine and practicable attempt to solve what is by far the gravest social and political problem of the day.

But I would add two warnings. In the first place, I do not think that any league of nations should make us careless of or indifferent about the other terms of peace. Not only is it necessarily an experiment—and we have no right in such vital matters to gamble on the success of any experiment, however promising—but we must have a good peace to give the league a fair start. For any true partnership of nations we must have a territorial settlement based on natural justice, we must re-establish the sanctity of treaties, we must exorcise the spirit of German militarism. Finally, if any new international organization is to be created, it must be brought into existence by the treaty which shall close this war. The great force on which we must rely is the hatred of the cruelty and waste of war which now exists. Now that the war is over, the process of oblivion will set in. Men will say, possibly with truth, that a new world war will not come in their time. Few men really care what will happen to posterity. In such a field doubts and fears will grow apace. The chauvinists who believe that all foreigners are barbarians, the bureaucrats who think that whatever is is right, the militarists who regard perpetual peace as an enervating evil, will combine with the disciples of the late Lord Melbourne to say, "Can't you let it alone?" It is only, therefore, while the recollection of all we have been through is burningly fresh that we can hope to overcome the inevitable opposition and establish at least the beginning of a new and better organization of the nations of the world.

IN view of the announcement that Léon Bourgeois will represent France on a special committee appointed to formulate a plan for a League of Nations to be submitted to the peace conference, it is interesting to note the provisions of the report on the same subject recently submitted to Premier Clemenceau by M. Bourgeois and Baron d' Estournelles de Constant. The essential provisions of this report are: 1. Compulsory arbitration without limitation or any exception of questions involving national honor or dignity. 2. Limitation of armaments. 3. The establishment of a council of administration of the nations for the formulation of new international administration and international legal procedure. 4. The application of diplomatic, juridical, economic, and, as a final resort, military sanctions to enforce upon recalcitrant nations the decisions of the league. In explaining the plan Baron d' Estournelles de Constant is reported as saying: "There will be different views concerning the military enforcement of peace. Our aim is to reconcile these differences and secure some workable basis of agreement.

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Documents

An Ambassador Extraordinary

THE official Russian *Vestnik* reprints, in its issue of October 6, President Wilson's New York speech of September 27, together with the following extraordinary manifesto of Mr. David R. Francis, the American Ambassador.

I submit herewith the text of President Wilson's speech, and desire to call your attention to the broad, humanitarian, and comprehensive principles of a lasting peace which are expressed therein. It sets forth clearly and definitely the objects for which the American people are making such efforts and such enormous sacrifices. In striving for these objects, the President says, all the Americans and all the Allies are heartily united. These objects are essential to an enduring peace, and without their attainment no peace can last. Failure will mean that all the sacrifices have been fruitless and all the blood has been spilt in vain. The attainment of these objects will give universal freedom to the nations, and the realization of the true brotherhood of man.

This speech was made at New York on September 27 on the occasion of the opening of the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign for $6,000,000,000. The first three loans amounted altogether to $13,800,000,000, and went through with extraordinary success. The loans made by the United States to the Allies for the struggle against the Central Powers exceed $6,000,000,000, which amounts at the present rate of exchange to R.60,000,000,000, and the United States are ready to double this enormous sum, if necessary, for Germany's defeat. My country stepped into the war exactly eighteen months ago, when it was absolutely unprepared, but in this short time we have sent over 1,700,000 soldiers to the battlefields of Europe, we have enlarged our fleet to several times its original size, and we have launched ships with a total displacement of 3,000,000 tons—truly remarkable achievements.

The Central Empires are already facing an overwhelming defeat. Bulgaria is suing for peace, and has thrown herself upon the mercy of the Allied countries. The Turkish army is routed and has lost so many men by casualties and capture that the spirit of the Turk is broken, and the Ottoman Empire has ceased to be a factor in the world war. Great uneasiness, bordering on panic, pervades the Governments and civil circles of Germany and Austria on account of the continued defeats of their armies on the western front, where their losses have been enormous, while the Allied forces have been achieving an unbroken series of victories. Some Russians express the fear that Germany and Austria, repulsed on every side, will turn with an avenging spirit against defenceless Russia, whom the German Foreign Minister, von Kühlmann, mistakenly and maliciously charged with the crime of beginning this horrible war.

Do you know what German invasion means? Look at devastated Belgium. Turn your eyes towards suffering Serbia. But you need not look so far. Consider your own Ukraine, from whose borders the ruthless invader is being driven by your outraged brothers whose treatment by the Germans has driven them to desperation. Then consider Rumania, upon whom a peace has been imposed which, if observed, will convert the Rumanians into German slaves for generations to come. But you need not look beyond your own borders in order to become acquainted with German oppressions. Behold the peace of Brest-Litovsk, which took from Russia thirty per cent. of her richest territory and 56,000,000 souls of her population, and yet grasping Germany is not satisfied, but continues to make additional demands and further encroachments which the Bolshevik Government grants because it claims to be powerless to refuse. The Soviet Government at Moscow is charged with no desire to resist Germany; it is accused of being the plain tool of the German Government; proofs of this are now being published in America, and will be reproduced in Russia as soon as the documents are received.

I also publish herewith the appeal of my Government to all Allies and neutrals for protection against the thousands of unjustifiable, cruel, merciless executions which the Bolsheviks, at the instigation of their German masters, are daily perpetrating on your own brothers and sisters. How much longer will you suffer such conditions to exist? Will not the Russian people cease their civil strifes and put a temporary stop to party bickerings, to restore order throughout their afflicted country, and rise in their might to organize their wonderful man-power, as they are able to do, into an irresistible force to drive the oppressing and selfish invaders from their borders?

The injuries inflicted upon your land, your industries, shipping, and internal commerce can soon be restored if you so resolve. The blood of your murdered brothers cries to you from their unmarked graves to put an end to this senseless slaughter, if not to avenge their unjustifiable assassination. Your Allies are willing and ready and able to come to your aid if you will request them to do so.

In connection with the foregoing, the following extract from an article by V. I. Lebedev, published in the New York *Narodnaya Gazeta* of December 28, is of interest. Mr. Lebedev was Minister of the Navy in the Cabinets of Prince Lvov and Kerensky, and a member of the Omsk-Ufa Government. He is now in this country on a mission for the latter Government. The *Narodnaya Gazeta* is an anti-Bolshevik and pro-war socialistic paper.

At this time there arrived in Samara the French military agent of the Czech National Council, Commander Alphonse Guinet, who declared to us at a general meeting of military leaders that, according to the Allied plan, it is necessary that we go on with our conquest of the Volga [region], with a view to the creation and retention of the Volga front until such time as the Allies would join us; and the Allies, he said, were bound to join us very soon. This fully corresponded to the plan which had been worked out by the Allied and Russian organizations in Moscow, according to which the Volga *place d' armes*, approximately from Kazan to Saratov, as well as the northern front about Vologda, were to be created as soon as possible. This was corroborated by the fact that we knew of the landing of the Allied troops at Murmansk and Archangel, of their battles in the direction of Vologda, and of the proclamation of American Ambassador Francis in Archangel urging the Russian people to fight against the Bolsheviki, [and] promising them the aid of all the Allies.

Alphonse Guinet pointed out to us that for the purposes of the Allies and of Russia we must hurry with the capture of Simbirsk, Kazan, as well as Saratov. . . .

The repeatedly-promised aid from the Allies had by that time as yet failed to materialize, either in the form of troops or in that of ammunition, but the faith in their arrival, confirmed by their official declaration, was so great that nobody entertained any doubt about it.

Labor in Canada

THE following summary of the provisions of two recent Canadian Orders-in-Council relating to labor appears in the Vancouver *Daily Colonist* of December 21.

In view of labor conditions in Canada incident to demobilization and the sudden cessation of the production of war munitions, the Government has passed an Order-in-Council providing for the appointment of an official, to be known as "director of labor research and employment service." The duties of this official will be:

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1. To treat with provincial Governments as to the establishment and development of employment offices, the standardization of such offices, and their coördination into a national system.
2. To supervise labor clearing-houses.
3. To negotiate the annual agreements between the Dominion and the provincial Governments required under the employment offices and coördination act.
4. To study and report on employment and ways and means of lessening unemployment, including wages and hours.

Although no official statement has yet been made, it is understood that Mr. Bryce Stewart, editor of the *Labor Gazette*, will be appointed to the position of director of labor research and employment service. . . .

Regulations governing the establishment and administration of Dominion and provincial Government employment offices under the employment offices coördination act are embodied in an Order-in-Council just made public.

Among other things the regulations provide for the establishment by the Minister of Labor of an advisory council, which shall be called the employment service council of Canada, to assist in the administration of the act and to recommend ways of preventing unemployment. This council shall consist of one member appointed by each of the provincial Governments, two appointed by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, two appointed by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, one appointed by the Railway Board, one appointed by the Railway Brotherhoods, two appointed by the Canadian Council of Agriculture, three members appointed by the Labor Department, two of whom shall be appointed by the returned soldiers, and one appointed by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reëstablishment. Members of the council shall hold office for three years and shall be eligible for reappointment.

The Department of Labor, according to the regulations, shall, among other things, maintain Dominion clearing-houses for the inter-provincial distribution of labor. It shall encourage the provincial Governments to open new employment offices, to develop those already in operation, and to establish provincial clearing-houses which shall endeavor to meet any unsatisfied demand for unemployment.

The regulations provide that the provincial Governments shall have direction of their own employment offices, subject to the terms of the agreement with the Minister of Labor under the act. Each province shall establish clearing-houses to provide for the distribution of labor within the province and to coöperate with the clearing-house for the inter-provincial distribution of labor. In connection with the office administration there shall be an advisory council, equally representative of employees and employers, appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to safeguard the interests of both parties in the distribution of labor and to coöperate with the Dominion council.

Local advisory committees are to be established by the provincial Governments, where they see fit, to assist the superintendents of the employment offices in the discharge of their duties.

The Question of the Scheldt

THE Paris *Temps* having suggested that the action of the Dutch, in 1914, regarding the Scheldt was taken under pressure from Germany, the following statement was issued on December 10 by the Dutch Department of Foreign Affairs.

With regard to the measures already taken before the outbreak of the war respecting the movements of shipping on the Scheldt, it should be remembered that they are connected with measures of similar scope affecting the other Dutch outlets to the sea in the interest of the protection of Dutch territory. All these measures were the result of the general mobilization announced on July 31, 1914, in connection with the political tension of those days and the danger of war. The suggestion of *Le Temps* that this action was taken under pressure from Germany is entirely unjustified. No pressure was exercised by Germany, there was no demand or request, the matter was not even discussed. The incorrectness of the position taken up in this newspaper article is sufficiently demonstrated by the declaration of the Belgian Government, deposited with Jhr. Loudon on August 16, 1914, which stated that, though the proposed measures for buoying, lighting, and mining during the war departed from the system laid down in the treaties of 1839 and 1843, they were, nevertheless, justified in war-time by Holland's right of self-defence and the duty of the Dutch Government to maintain the neutrality of Holland. Naturally, the Belgian Government considered that the measures would only be of a temporary character and would cease as soon as the circumstances which occasioned them should come to an end. On this occasion the Belgian representative, speaking for his Government, emphasized the fact that the regulation of all the questions under discussion was made in perfect agreement by both the Governments concerned, and that the Belgian Government saw in the arrangement a proof of the friendly feeling of Holland towards that Government. With regard to the second point discussed by the Paris paper, its assertions and suggestions are contrary to the truth. It may be of advantage to state that the declaration of the German Government as to its intention to respect the neutrality of Holland was made in the afternoon of August 2, 1914, to the Dutch representative in Berlin, and was quite spontaneous. It was repeated to Jhr. Loudon by the German representative on the following day. Both declarations were made without any demands or conditions. Neither directly nor indirectly had any agreement, deliberations, or consultations preceded the declaration.

Dr. Gilbert Murray and Oxford University

DR. GILBERT MURRAY, Regius Professor of Greek in Oxford University, who in the recent election was an unsuccessful candidate for a seat in the House of Commons as a university member, was endorsed by members of the university in the following manifesto, signed by the Master of Balliol, the Provost of Queen's, and fourteen other leading members of the university.

The retention of University representation in the Reform Act of 1918 has made it more than ever necessary that the Universities should send to Parliament members who can speak with authority on questions of education, and for whom it can be claimed that they represent learning. Such a member was the late Sir William Anson, Warden of All Souls. It is to secure such a representative for Oxford at the present time that we have nominated our Regius Professor of Greek, Dr. Gilbert Murray. He is known everywhere as a scholar distinguished for learning and originality and the power of imparting his own enthusiasm to others. His lectures and his published works have put him in the forefront of the teaching profession. Few men in England to-day have a better claim to be heard on the questions which will arise in the new Parliament in connection with education and research.

Dr. Murray has taken an active part in the propaganda called out by the war. He has written in the Oxford series of war-papers; he has warmly defended Viscount Grey of Falloden and his policy; he has lectured for the Government in America and has done much to promote a good understanding between this country and the United States; he is a convinced advocate of a league of nations.

If Dr. Murray is returned he may be counted on to support the dignity of our country in its foreign relations and to work for the improvement of the conditions of life at home.

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Foreign Press

Questions for British Liberals

THE following "political catechism," ascribed to "a Liberal Executive in Kent," who decided that no candidate in the recent election would be acceptable who could not give satisfactory answers to the questions propounded, is taken from *Common Sense* (London) of November 16.

1. Whether he will assist in every effort to turn the present anti-democratic Government out of office?

2. D. O. R. A.: Whether he will support the repeal of the Defence of the Realm act and, therefore, the abolition of all orders made under it immediately on the declaration of peace?

3. Conscription: Whether he will support the repeal of the Military Service acts immediately on the declaration of peace; and agree to all soldiers and sailors being allowed, if they wish, to return to civil life at once, and any military work which requires to be done to be carried out by a voluntarily-enlisted army and navy, in which soldiers and sailors of all ranks shall receive pay and allowances at a rate not less than those paid to colonial soldiers and sailors?

And whether he will resolutely oppose any further attempts to impose conscription of life, upon any portion of the community, which does not carry with it, also, conscription of wealth on all members of the community?

4. Jingoism: Whether he will oppose all efforts to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations?

5. Land Values: Whether, in view of the vast revenue which will be required after the war, he will support a movement for the whole of the land of the United Kingdom to become at once the property of the state, occupiers to retain possession by annual payment of a capital tax on the principle now in force in several of our greater colonies, thereby providing from 300 to 600 millions per annum, and sweeping away the taxation which falls so heavily to-day on thrift, energy, and labor, and whether he will support the abolition of the leasehold system and its iniquities?

6. Labor Conditions: That the fundamental conditions of labor shall be the payment of a minimum wage and the provision of such conditions of life as will enable every man and his wife to live and bring up a family in such conditions as will give them an opportunity of enjoying their lives from birth to death?

7. Free Trade: Whether he will resolutely support the principles of free trade laid down by Cobden and Bright, and oppose every form of protection, under whatever name it be introduced?

8. Education: Whether he will support the entire elimination of clerical control in any form in the education of the children, and a policy which will give the child of the poorest member of the community an equal opportunity in every respect with the child of the rich man to rise to the highest round in the educational ladder?

9. Foreign Affairs: Whether he will support the supreme control of foreign affairs being placed in the hands of the Parliament; that there shall be no restriction, financial or otherwise, on employment under the Foreign Office, and that all negotiations with other countries shall be conducted in the open and before the eyes of the people; that no treaties shall be binding upon the people of this country which have not received the consent of both Houses of Parliament in open session, and that all existing treaties shall be declared invalid unless they are submitted to and receive such consent?

10. Government: That he will resolutely oppose the maintenance of the hereditary principle in all our forms of government, and support in every way the right to self-government of the peoples in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland?

11. Disestablishment: Whether he will support the movement for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England, the abolition of tithes, and oppose every effort to endow any religious sect at the general public expense?

12. And, finally, whether, in all matters, he will support the cause of the worker, whether employee or employer, against the causes and interests of those parasites who live upon the earnings of other members of the community?

There is to be no hedging. The candidate must answer each question by a direct "Yes" or "No."

British Churches and a League of Nations

THE following appeal, reprinted from the London *Times* of December 5, was published in accordance with the request of the conference held at Lambeth, on October 29, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The signatories represent all the most important churches in the United Kingdom except the Roman Catholic. The *Times* notes that in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, published on October 31, Cardinal Bourne "explained that the question was one rather for international statesmen, but if a workable scheme could be devised it would have the support of Roman Catholics throughout the world."

We desire to appeal to our fellow-Christians of all communions to unite with us in supporting the ideal of a league of nations as an essentially Christian means of attaining international justice and peace.

We regard a league of nations—in the sense of a substantial and organized coöperation of all nations sincerely interested in the object of securing the peace of the world, the abolition of war, and the guarantee of freedom to the weaker states and races—as being now accepted by the consent both of leaders and of public opinion.

We recognize this as an advance politically in the highest and noblest sense of the word. Accordingly, we look with confidence to statesmen such as our own political leaders of different types, and the President of the United States, whose common endorsement of the proposal has brought it to the forefront of future policy, to work it into practical form, both as part of the coming peace and after the peace.

We do not underrate the difficulties and the intricacies of the task; it will demand the fullest political skill that statesmen can supply. But we are equally sure that this is a movement far too large, deep, and significant to be left only to experts. The demand for it comes from the heart and conscience of the peoples; and the force of the public conscience and will in the nations is the indispensable condition, the measure, of its success and its permanence.

We know also, and too well, how far a general acceptance of the project in name and in vague shape is from anything approaching realization. It is a commonplace of politics that agreed measures are sometimes the hardest to pass. There is a long road to travel and there are many enemies. To say this is only superficially inconsistent with what has just been said about agreement. No one who has given any thought to the history and conditions of true progress will doubt that real advances and elevations of standard are never secured without an arduous struggle against counter-forces to which the weaknesses and selfishnesses and basenesses of human nature always contribute. The principles of good are powerfully resisted by principles or forces of evil of which we only imperfectly descry, at any time, the nature and the workings.

Such considerations, in our judgment, point imperiously to the conclusion that a responsibility of the most serious and lasting kind rests upon all who form and influence opinion to watch, and support, and strengthen this great and far-reaching design.

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That obligation rests upon all men and women of good will, and without such general comradeship the object will hardly be attained. Opinion must apply the "steam," the perseverance, the vigilance which will be needed for success.

But as Christians, and speaking to those who share with us that great allegiance, we recognize a special Christian responsibility in this matter of a league of nations, not as against others, but for the common good. For though we believe that, in the world as we have known it hitherto, war for defence or for principle may be an inevitable duty, and have accordingly supported with profound conviction the struggle of the Allies against Germany and what Germany has represented, we know that the purpose of God, as our Lord has made us to know Him, is a purpose of peace, to make war to cease in all the world. We know it as fundamental and comprehensive Christian truth that love is the only true constructive principle of common human life, and that love acts by subjecting all the forms of selfishness, self-aggrandisement, and sensitive pride, in nations as in individuals, to the strong and wholesome control of duty towards the general interest, and of common loyalty to the kingdom of God. Care for the weak and the backward, jealousy for the freedom and growth of all peoples, self-control by the nations at times of exasperation and strain, are in our eyes part of the working of this great and royal law, against which of course all forms of human fault, folly, and weakness constantly contend.

Therefore it is that we must both welcome, from whatever source they come, forces making for these great ends, and also try as Christians to make our own Christian contribution to the cause. We believe, indeed, that it is mainly where the kingdom of heaven in Christ works either as leaven in the mass, or by direct power of its divine law, that there is any such real strength as can prevail in difficult movements of this kind. To these considerations there remains to be added that the church is entrusted with spiritual weapons in whose efficacy its faith believes. By the prayer of faith and hope, earnest, humble, and constant, great things are wrought; prayer both corporate of Christians in the congregation, and individual prayer which the simple and childlike as well as the skilled can offer.

A conference of leaders of the Christian churches of Britain, convened by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was held at Lambeth on October 29, 1918, "to consider from a religious point of view the most effective mode in which the support of the Christian churches can be given to the project of a league of nations." With this end in view, the conference appointed a standing committee, and requested us to issue this message to the Christian people of the United Kingdom to invite their coöperation in supporting the project.

That we are able to do this unitedly is for us a special happiness and an earnest of success.

With the prayer for God's blessing and guidance,

We are, &c.,

RANDALL CANTUAR: (Archbishop of Canterbury).
COSMO EBOR: (Archbishop of York).
J. E. ROBERTS, President of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
E. GRIFFITH JONES, Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.
ALEX. RAMSAY, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of England.
W. A. HAMMOND, President of the Primitive Methodist Church.
J. W. WALLS, President of the United Methodist Church.
HUGH BARROW WILLIAMS, Moderator of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church.
SAMUEL CHADWICK, President of the Wesleyan Methodist Church.
GEORGE HOOPER, President of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches.
J. N. OGILVIE, Moderator of the Church of Scotland.
W. J. F. ROBBERDS, Bishop of Brechin, Primus of the Episcopal Church in Scotland.
ROBERT J. DRUMMOND, Moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland.
JAMES MCGRANAHAN, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.
HUGH MCKEAG, Vice-President of the Conference of the Methodist Church in Ireland.

The Financial Provisions of the Armistice

THE *Economiste Français* (Paris) summarizes, in its issue of December 14, the report of a sub-commission on the financial provisions of the German armistice.

The financial sub-commission of the International Armistice Commission of Spa, on which France was represented by Messrs. de Celles and de Lasteyrie, has just concluded its labors. It has settled the conditions under which the financial clauses of the armistice are to be executed by Germany.

Germany may not alienate, grant, or mortgage its railways, mines, forests, or any of its industrial enterprises, commercial or colonial, in which the state is interested; it may not interfere with property abroad belonging to the state, nor with the gold reserve of the Reichsbank, except under the conditions which are laid down.

Germany is to return immediately to the French or Belgian authorities various papers, valuables, and documents which it seized in the north of France or in Belgium. The French papers are mainly deposited at Brussells and Liège; they will be brought back to France, and will be returned to those whom they concern as soon as their identification can be completed.

Germany is to restore all the *bons de monnaie* of towns, chambers of commerce, or others that it has in its possession, as well as the printing materials, plates, special paper, etc., necessary for their manufacture. It is to restore the public and private archives, accounts, and land documents which it has carried away, as well as the plans, estimates, and drawings so important for the industrial reconstruction of the invaded regions. It has also promised to return the art objects taken from museums or private persons.

Germany will restore, during the month of December, the cash in hand and the bills of the National Bank of Belgium, as well as the possessions of the French or Belgian banks which it took and converted into marks.

It will restore to the Allies the gold which it took from Russia, particularly the 320 millions which it acknowledges having received from the Soviets by virtue of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. This gold will be taken to Paris and placed in the vaults of the Bank of France, where a receipt will be executed for the common account of the Allies.

It goes without saying that the most explicit conditions have been laid down regarding the papers, valuables, cash in hand, etc., as well as the gold, which may have been taken by the Germans throughout the country and which may not in the meantime have been restored.

The Minister of Finance has, moreover, given the most precise instructions that, so far as the French Government is concerned, the arrangements are to be put into effect without delay.

A Reform Programme for Holland

THE following programme of reforms, issued as a manifesto on November 12 by the Social Democratic party of Holland and the Federation of Labor Unions, is taken from the *Allgemeen Handelsblad* (Amsterdam). The programme is the one to which Mr. Troelstra referred when he asked the Government to pay immediate attention to the Socialist bill of reforms.

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1. Immediate demobilization, and payment of decent remunerations during the period of idleness of the demobilized forces.
2. Immediate institution of the general franchise for all women and for all persons who are of age.
3. Abolition of the First Chamber [the Upper House or Senate of the Dutch Parliament].
4. The costs of the war and of the reconstruction period to be met by direct taxes, levied upon the large financial interests and the more prominent private capitalists.
5. Socialization of every branch of industry that can be thus reformed upon a sound basis.
6. Immediate steps to be taken to provide decent living quarters for all persons.
7. A general improvement in the economic condition of the small farmers.
8. Acceptance of all the demands of the Association of Conscripted Soldiers.
9. Abolition of the strike law of 1903.
10. Regulation of supply and demand in matters pertaining to food supply. Coöperation between farmers and distributors to bring about a better system of food distribution.
11. Old age pensions for everyone over sixty years of age.
12. Acceptance by the Government of all the demands of the International Association of Labor Unions, on the lines of the Berne programme of October, 1917.
13. The immediate institution of an eight hour labor day, and a day of six hours for people who work in mines.
14. State insurance for the unemployed, to be administered by the labor organizations themselves.
15. A considerable increase in the salaries of the workmen and lower officials in the public service and those employed by the railways.

The German Troops in Limburg

THE question of the passage of German troops through Limburg, and of the attitude of the Entente press towards Holland on account of it, is discussed at length in the Amsterdam *Handelsblad* of December 3. The article refers to the action of certain Dutchmen and of a section of the Dutch press in defending the cause of the Allies "even when it clashed with Dutch interests," and continues:

Now, what actually happened in the matter of the German troops?

On November 12 the first German troops reached our frontiers in the corner between Limburg and Brabant, requesting a passage through to Germany. Instructions were asked for from The Hague. There it was decided that, provided they were disarmed, these troops must be allowed passage. On November 13 this decision was communicated to the representatives of the Entente and of Belgium, and on the 14th the decision was carried out. The disarmed troops were allowed to pass through Limburg at its narrowest, near Susteren. The route was guarded on either side by Dutch troops to prevent intercourse between the Germans and the population. Why were these troops not interned? Simply because by the conclusion of the armistice the whole internment system in Holland was liquidated. The English requested our Government to allow the English interned to go home, and the Government said that it was perfectly willing to allow this, at the same time extending the permission to the German interned. This view was no doubt put before the representatives of the Entente by the Foreign Minister at the meeting on November 13, and, as we understand, no objections were then raised. If the internment system was thus liquidated, there was no sense in making new internments. A refusal of passage on our side would simply have forced the German troops to make a long *détour* round South Limburg, which would have had unpleasant results for the Belgian population. Our Government thought that it was serving the interests of Belgium by permitting the passage.

This simple affair has been exaggerated into a violation of neutrality by the Jingo press in Entente countries. The lies about the passage of armed German troops through Limburg in 1914 have been revived. If we had allowed such a passage at that time the Germans would have advanced into Belgium on a much broader front, and how would the war have gone then? At the same time all sorts of inflammatory material is heaped together and used against us; the question of the Kaiser, the Scheldt question, etc. It is impossible not to see in this a deliberate and systematic campaign. They are trying to find an occasion against us on the other side of our southern frontier, so as to realize annexation schemes to our disadvantage at the final reckoning. Remember the long and obstinate annexation compaign (with Zealand, Flanders and Limburg as objectives) carried on in a section of the Belgian press during the war by men in the service of the Belgian Government, at Havre (Newray, des Ombiaux, Nothomb, etc.). Remember how we and others repeatedly called for an unambiguous declaration from the Belgian Government with regard to annexation schemes in its *entourage*. It was months and months before on July 6, 1916, the Belgian Government caused it to be publicly announced by a circuitous route that it—had never thought of any surrender of Dutch territory? No. The French and English Governments made that declaration. The Belgian Government, however, went no further than to say that it had never "supported or encouraged" schemes of annexation. Thus it has never categorically declared that it had not entertained such plans itself. If one considers these facts, if one realizes the mood of victory which now possesses the Entente peoples and the Belgian nation, if one notes the signs of a concerted press campaign in those countries against Holland, then one can not be blind to the serious dangers that threaten us at the peace.

The Proper Treatment of Germany

AN editorial "On Hanging the Kaiser," in the London *Nation* of December 7, concludes:

But, after all, this question of the Kaiser is not the most fundamental. What is really ominous is the apparent desire to punish the whole German people, generation after generation, the children now in arms and those yet to be born. For that is really what would be involved in exacting from Germany indemnities so huge as to cripple her for decades. The ironical economic point that such indemnities could only be received in the form of that "dumping" of German goods which the same people who call for indemnity are most determined to avoid, need not detain us now. We are on the point of justice. And this doctrine of collective responsibility is unjust. The German nation did not make the war. Half a dozen rulers made it, in Germany and Austria, and perhaps in some other countries. And once it was made, the German nation had no alternative, according to all the recognized standards of patriotism, than to see it through. For never was nation in greater danger than the German from the moment Great Britain entered the war. Never was it more evident that defeat would mean ruin. It was, therefore, inevitable for the patriotic German to see his "duty" in supporting his Government in the war. The English, of all peoples, ought to recognize this, for no people is so absolute as they on this point of patriotic duty. It may be said, without any hesitation or qualification, that no matter what the cause of war, be it just or unjust, the British would never forgive the man who, when the State was in real danger, should weaken the national effort by hostile criticism. We have proof positive of that in the present war, in the treatment of pacifists and of conscientious objectors. According to British standards, according to all standards of accepted patriotism, the German people acted rightly in supporting their Government. This would have been so had they

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known and believed that it was an unjust war. For none the less their country would have been in danger. The standard, if you like, is a bad one. We may begin to say so when we cease to apply it ourselves in our own case. But the standard is there and is accepted.

Moreover, in fact, the German people did not know nor believe that their cause was a bad one, and they did not know that it was being cruelly fought (as it was). They believed up to the last that they were fighting a war of defence. For the crime of fighting for their country under such conditions it is proposed to penalize generation after generation, to make them the permanent tribute-payers of the world. What kind of a justice is this? The payment by Germany of the damage wrought in occupied territory is clearly reasonable. There is a sound principle there. It is a general one, and should run "wherever territory has been occupied by an enemy, the enemy shall provide reparation for the injury done." But the attempt to lay the whole cost of the war on the beaten enemy is another matter. The principle is a new one and a bad one, due mainly to German action in the past. At the treaty of Portsmouth, President Roosevelt induced Japan to renounce all claim for a war indemnity on Russia. That would be a better precedent for the Allied Governments to follow than the precedent of 1871. There is no knowing where this taking of war indemnities may not lead nations. It is a way of avoiding the natural nemesis of war—pauperization. It is a way of making war seem to "pay." And once it were established as a practice (supposing it could be established) we should be approaching the point at which some nation would say: "Let us go to war in order to get the indemnity!"

And mark! The same people who want to exact "more than Germany can pay" are the people who will oppose every form and measure of disarmament. Yet the financial relief of disarmament would be great out of all proportion to any relief an indemnity could give. And disarmament would be the real insurance against future wars. This whole idea of punishment is a red herring across the track of real progress. What we want is not punishment for the past, but security for the future. That security can only be had along the lines of the fourteen points. And punishment, so far from helping, may hinder it. For it is essential that the new order shall start on a basis of mutual confidence and mutual coöperation between all nations. That, and that only, can be a real guarantee against a repetition of the horrors from which we have just emerged. What we need is the "objective" view, the view of cause and effect. Our subjective indignation does not help us, and may easily ruin us. Our duty is not to gratify feelings, whether of justice or revenge, but to build a new world in which our children may be safe and free.

Winston Churchill and Women Electors

THE following account of a "lively meeting" at Dundee is taken from the *Yorkshire Post* (Leeds) of December 6.

At Dundee last evening Mr. Winston Churchill addressed two meetings, one a gathering of women voters, and the other a meeting of discharged sailors and soldiers. The women's assemblage was in the Kinnaird Hall, which was packed with about 2,500 women. The chairwoman was the wife of a local doctor.

Mr. Churchill was enthusiastically received on rising to speak. He said that now the war has been won the task at home is nothing less than to make a new Britain worthy of the victory which has been gained (cheers). "I see this meeting, the like of which has never yet been seen in the annals of Dundee, and I am certain that all those forces which have won the war are united and resolute to proceed hand in hand—Unionist, Liberal, Radical, Labor men, and women—towards the great task of reconstruction which awaits us (cheers). Women have won their right to have a voice in this election." Mr. Churchill then dwelt on the many activities which women engaged in during the war, and said, "If the war had gone on the women would have got into the trenches. I am sure of it. I saw some of them very near" (cheers).

Suddenly at this stage half a dozen women rose in different parts of the hall, and shouted questions at Mr. Churchill. "Experience teaches fools," ejaculated one of the interrupters, amidst an outburst of approving cheers of those by whom she was surrounded. "That is why I ask you to profit by my experience," retorted Mr. Churchill. Thereupon a woman in the gallery rose, shook her fists, and gesticulated wildly, but nobody seemed able to gather what it was all about.

When matters cooled down somewhat Mr. Churchill developed his argument about the necessity of improvements in housing, land, food, manufacture, transport power, and public health.

The heckling period arrived, and the women fired at Mr. Churchill scores of questions with a volubility, persistence, and skill which far outdistanced anything of the kind their menfolk had been accustomed to indulge in at election times in Scotland. They wanted to know about many things that transpired during the war, and what is going to happen now peace has arrived. The right honorable gentleman was evidently not quite equal on all occasions to give a direct answer to the myriads of interrogations which were poured in to him without respite. "I am only a man, not an encyclopædia," plaintively replied Mr. Churchill when a demand was made that an answer should be given instanter to some of the most intricate questions. The subject of pensions and dependents' allowances loomed large, and the soldiers' wives obviously did not regard Mr. Churchill's answers to their questions as entirely satisfying. At their request the right honorable gentleman undertook to meet them next week, and discuss the whole situation with them as regards pensions. Towards the close of the meeting there were continuous shrill shouts from all parts of the hall.

A resolution in favor of the candidate was carried by an overwhelming majority, and amidst much confusion. Mr. Churchill finally advised the ladies to stand together, fight together, and win together.

THE annual Lyons fair, organized in 1916 under the direction of Senator Herriot, mayor of Lyons, is commended in the *Information Leaflet* of the American Chamber of Commerce of Paris as "an international market necessary for France in order that it may free itself of German control, to root out German products, to develop inter-Allied commerce and stimulate the national industries of the Allied countries, and, finally, to facilitate exportation." Manufacturers in neutral countries are also encouraged to exhibit. Only samples of goods are exhibited. The first Lyons fair, in spite of its hasty organization and the effect of war conditions, assembled 1342 exhibitors who transacted a business amounting to 95,000,000 francs. At the third fair, in March of the present year, there were 3182 exhibitors, wholesale buyers were present from all over the world, and the business transacted was valued at 750,000,000 francs. The fourth fair will be held March 1-15, 1919. American manufacturers and exporters are being urged to participate.

Contributors to this Issue

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Notes

AN explanation of the feeling in Portugal which led to the assassination of the President, Dr. Sidonio Paes, was offered by Dr. Alphonso Costa, former Portuguese President, in a recent interview in *Le Matin* (Paris). At the time of Dr. Paes's *coup d' état* Dr. Costa was imprisoned, and several prominent Portuguese Republicans were exiled, one of the latter being Senhor de Mattos, the man chiefly responsible for the presence of a Portuguese army in Flanders. Dr. Costa stated that 5,000 other citizens of Portugal, among them José da Castro, former Premier, had been imprisoned without trial, and had been beaten and grossly ill-treated in order to force from them so-called revelations; and that political prisoners had been executed while in prison, or had been transferred to other prisons. The former presidents of both Chambers, some former ministers, senators and deputies, and many officers who had fought on the French front are still in prison, according to Dr. Costa's statement, and so many sailors have been deported to Africa that the Portuguese navy seriously lacks men. The situation was so much worse than he had indicated, said Dr. Costa, that recent events were "not to be wondered at."

IN the opinion of Senator Tittoni, former Italian Foreign Minister and Ambassador to France, Italy's claims must widen and keep pace with the claims of France and Great Britain. Assuming the attainment of Italian aims in the Adriatic, Signor Tittoni, in an address in the Senate, declared that if Great Britain and France acquired territory and influence in Asia Minor, Italy must do the same, although if the other Powers acquired nothing Italy would make no demands. Signor Tittoni described this principle not as imperialism, but as "distributive justice." Since Italy, he said, had shared the risks and sufferings of the war, it should share equally in the benefits of peace; and Asia Minor alone could supply raw materials such as coal, petroleum, and iron for Italian industry. If France and Great Britain retained the German colonies in Africa, Italy should "obtain compensation" in Libya, Somaliland, and Eritrea. Premier Orlando, commenting upon Signor Tittoni's address, observed that the Senator had rendered a great service to the country by raising these questions.

A PROPOSAL brought forward in the Swiss Parliament on December 6, calling upon the Federal Council to lay before the Parliament the full texts of all treaties or other international agreements entered into since August, 1914, was rejected by a vote of 43 to 66. The affirmative votes were given by the French and Italian-speaking deputies and the Socialists. President Calonder stated that the Federal Council was prepared to furnish full information to deputies or committees, that treaties would always be submitted and that, if permanent, they ought to be published, but that it would not be wise to make public the agreements made under war conditions.

THE State Department has made public an outline, said to have been published recently in Germany, of the projected Constitution to be submitted to the German National Assembly. What group or party is responsible for the document is not indicated. In substance the suggested Constitution provides for an elected President "whose powers will be about half-way between the constitutional rights of the American President and those of the King of England"; a Cabinet formed by the President which will be strictly parliamentary, "thus differing from the American system"; an upper House of Representatives of the various federated republics, corresponding roughly to the Senate of the United States, and with powers "more legislative than executive." No mention is made of a lower house. The "Federal Government will be strongly centralized without abridging the sovereignty of the States, which will retain control of certain cultural, economic, and social fields. Railroads, the military establishment, customs, posts, telegraphs, and taxation will be Federal. There will be approximately fourteen or fifteen republics in the federation."

ON September 26 a press dispatch to Norwegian papers from Tromsö, in extreme northern Norway, reported the arrival at that port of a British expedition and the hoisting of the British flag over Spitzbergen. The German properties there, including a wireless station, were destroyed. It is interesting to note that Spitzbergen is still a sort of "No Man's Land." A conference to determine the status of the region was held at Christiania in 1914, eight nations participating, but on account of the interruption caused by the war nothing was done. Recently the question has again been raised in Norway, where it is argued that, if Spitzbergen were under the Norwegian flag, there would be no ground for annexation by Great Britain. The Storthing, which meets in January, is being urged to submit a proposal on the subject to the peace conference. The importance of Spitzbergen is mainly due to its immense deposits of coal and iron, the latter being among the richest in Europe.

THE representative of the British press in Mesopotamia, Mr. Scotland Liddell, in a recent despatch from Bagdad to the London *Times*, reports that Arab opinion is in favor of continued British occupation, "backed up by armed force," of Mesopotamia; that British control is essential to preserve order in a country menaced by tribes "semi-civilized, turbulent, avaricious, and well-armed"; and that such control would open to the Arabs new possibilities of commercial development. Only through British occupation, writes Mr. Liddell, "can the inhabitants of the country be given the desired degree of liberty to administer themselves under British advice, by means of representative institutions suited to the country."

THE findings and recommendations of the commission which for two years has been studying the industrial conditions of India have been published as a single report, which recommends various governmental changes to meet the economic needs of the country. The commission proposes that Imperial and provincial departments of industry and an Imperial industrial service be created. The Imperial department would be responsible for the industrial policy of the Government and the carrying out of a uniform programme of industrial development throughout the country, while the actual administrative work would devolve upon the local Governments and their industrial departments. The Imperial industrial service would be designed to substitute intelligent for haphazard and casual methods of recruiting labor. The commission recommends the establishment of universal primary education under the direction of the central and local authorities, and technical education in industrial schools and universities to be developed and controlled by the departments of industry. It also proposes, for the increased efficiency of labor, comprehensive improvements in housing conditions, and systematic efforts to eliminate preventible diseases, such as hookworm and malaria.

NOW that President Wilson's fourteen points have become the orthodox doctrine of the Allied Governments, it is worth noting that some of their most important provisions were anticipated in the programme of a society formed in England at the beginning of the war. The policy of this society was summed up in five cardinal points: (1) no transference of any province from one government to another without the consent of the population of the province; (2) democratic control of foreign policy, and no secret treaties; (3) the ending of balance-of-power alliances and the setting up of an international council; (4) a drastic reduction of armaments all round; and (5) no economic war after the military operations have ceased. The name of the society which has thus seen most of the civilized world professing acceptance of its creed is the Union for Democratic Control.

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